NEW MASSES

October 26, 1943 15¢ In Canada 20¢

YUGOSLAVIA'S LIBERATORS

by LOUIS ADAMIC

THE FUTURE OF ITALY

A Symposium: Frank Bellanca, Jimmy Savo, Senator Elbert D. Thomas, Rev. A. Di Stasi, Michael Garramone, Peter V. Cacchione, Demetrios Christophorides.

BULLITT'S STRANGE JOURNEY

by Walter Lowenfels

TRI-PARTITE CONFERENCE

by The Editors

THE PEN AS SWORD

A report on the Writers Congress by Sanora Babb

IRA ALDRIDGE TO PAUL ROBESON

by Samuel Sillen

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BETWEEN OURSELVES

IN CASE you're getting impatient for that article by Doxey Wilkerson on "Why I Joined the Communist Party"—and we certainly wouldn't blame you if you were—this is just to say that it has been crowded out this week by immediately urgent features, but that we will surely publish it soon. We were reading over the galleys on it the other day and it gave us a nice glow of pride that we should have such a contributor represented in the pages of NM—and with such a fine article.

There have been other good things crowded out this week. One is a piece by Frederick V. Field, reviewing the recently published collection of Chiang Kai-Shek's speeches, and discussing the whole problem of unity within China. And only this morning, the day before press day, we got another "I Give You My Word" from Editor-columnist Joseph North, reporting on what he saw and heard in the Rocky Mountain phase of his cross-country trip. North, as we've told you before, is combining his reporting with a strenuous "meet the readers" speaking-and-conferring tour. For the benefit of those readers in Indianapolis and Chicago, we give his speaking dates in those two cities: Indianapolis, Friday night, October 29, at the Hotel Claypool (in the Palm Room on the ninth floor); subject, "British-Soviet-American Relations." Chicago, Sunday afternoon, October 31, at 3 PM, at the Hamilton Hotel, 20 South Dearborn St. (in the Mirror Room); subject, "Thoughts on the Tri-Power Conference."

SOMETIMES we wish we had nothing to do but read our mail. Which isn't a lazy man's complaint; we only mean that reading the sort of mail we get is a special experience, sometimes a little upsetting, but on the whole always satisfying. It makes us very much aware that our readers think about the magazine.

And if they're sometimes critical they are never unsympathetic, rarely unconstructive, and most often helpful as well as appreciative. (We're not counting, of course, the few crackpot epistles we get from followers of Gerald L. K. Smith and such, who never saw the magazine in their lives but have heard from their masters that it's a menace to their existence—which we certainly trust it is.) Anyway, there isn't a state in the Union we don't hear from some time or other, and we're beginning to believe that not many communities have been missed. For example, we confess that until the other day we thought Abbeville was only a town in France which was in the headlines during the Nazi invasion. It seems, though, that there's one in Louisiana also; we have a letter from it, which reads:

"When I was in New Orleans a while back I saw a copy of your magazine for the first time, the one dated September 21. As soon as I get enough money I'll subscribe. I never saw a magazine that had as many things in it I never knew before—the story 'I Saw Mikhailovich's Treason,' for example; and the piece [by Lyle Dowling] explaining about incentive pay. It looks like good stuff—I hope it's that way every week. . . ."

We hope so too—anyway, we'll try!

SOMETHING else, we recollect, got crowded out of this issue. There wasn't room on the back cover, there was none on this page or anywhere else for it—a large and prominent reminder of the drive for 5,000 new readers by next January 1. So we'll just *take* a little space here to say a few words about it, anyway. As a matter of fact, the drive is doing slightly better than when we reported last time. On the other hand (as we say in editorials), it is only *slightly* better. Somehow we can't help feeling that there's just that extra effort missing, and that is due to a failure to realize the urgency of the situation. It's rather natural, after all, when we have so many readers and ask for only 5,000 new subs that many are going to feel they will come in easily enough—from somebody else.

Things just don't work that way, however. Which is why we particularly ask *all* our subscribers to make that small special attempt to bring in just one new sub. And we still insist that it's easy to do. But maybe you are one of those who did try and for some reason found it not so easy. In that case, we have a suggestion: won't you write us and tell us what the trouble is? Can't think of prospects? Haven't the time? Afraid of "annoying" people? We think that we can offer suggestions that will be helpful in overcoming those or other difficulties—and we'd be more than glad to sit down and write you about them. Meanwhile—please keep at it, and please don't delay in sending in the subs you do get. We need them—every one of them.

TO OUR readers in and around New York: we hope to see as many of you as possible at the Golden Gate Ballroom for the "Vote Ben Davis" Victory Show this coming Sunday afternoon, October 24. You may be sure that we'll be present; not to be would mean missing a chance to further a splendid candidate and a fine cause; and it would also mean missing a very good show. The two highlights of the evening will be Paul Robeson in a piece from "Othello" (in which he is now appearing on Broadway) and an address by Councilman Adam Clayton Powell, who has said that Davis should succeed him in the City Council. Teddy Wilson will be Master of Ceremonies. Others who will appear in tribute to the candidate include: Hazel Scott, Billie Holiday, Mildred Bailey, Josh White, and a score of additional Negro and white stars. For once an event billed as an "all star show" will be just that.

NEW MASSES
ESTABLISHED 1911

EDITOR: JOSEPH NORTH. ASSOCIATE EDITORS: FREDERICK V. FIELD BARBARA GILES, HERBERT GOLDFRANK, A. B. MAGIL, RUTH McKENNEY, JOHN STUART. WASHINGTON EDITOR: BRUCE MINTON EDITORIAL ASSISTANT: MARJORIE DeARMAND.

Contributing Editors

LIONEL BERMAN
ALVAH BESSIE
RICHARD O. BOYER
JOY DAVIDMAN
BELLA V. DODD
R. PALME DUTT
WILLIAM GROPPER
ALFRED KREYMBORG
VITO MARCANTONIO
FREDERICK MYERS
SAMUEL PUTNAM
PAUL ROBESON
ISIDOR SCHNEIDER
HOWARD SELSAM
SAMUEL SILLEN
JOSEPH STAROBIN
MAX YERGAN
ART YOUNG

THIS WEEK — October 26, 1943

NEW MASSES SPOTLIGHT

Editorial Comment 3
Tripartite Conference The Editors 5
Food and Subsidies Bruce Minton 8
Of Time and Victory Colonel T. 9
The Week in London Claude Cockburn 10
The Future of Italy Jimmy Savo, Rev. A. Di Stasi, Demetrios Christophorides, Sen. Elbert D. Thomas, Frank M. Bellanca, Michael Garramone, Peter V. Cacchione, John Stuart 11
Yugoslavia's Real Liberators Louis Adamic 16
Bullitt's Strange Journey Walter Lowenfels 17
Readers' Forum Leo Huberman 19
Colleges at War Marcella Sloane 20
The Pen as Sword Sanora Babb 22

REVIEW AND COMMENT

From Aldridge to Robeson Samuel Sillen 24
British Labor at War Paul Rosas 26
Rural Georgia Anna Rochester 28
Brief Review 29

SIGHTS AND SOUNDS

Two Films of War Daniel Prentiss 30
Obsolete Love Joseph Foster 31

Vol. LXIX, No. 4. Published weekly by THE NEW MASSES, Inc., at 104 East 9th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

Copyright 1943, The NEW MASSES, Inc. Reg. US Patent Office, Washington Office, 945 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W. Drawings and text may not be reprinted without permission.

Entered as second-class matter, June 23, 1926, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Single copies 15 cents. Subscriptions $5.00 a year in US and Colonies and Mexico. Six months $2.75; three months $1.50; Foreign $6.00 a year; six months $3.25; three months $1.75. In Canada, $6.00 a year; $3.50 for six months, US money, single copies in Canada 20¢ Canadian money. Subscribers are notified that no change in address can be effected in less than two weeks. NEW MASSES welcomes the work of new writers and artists. Manuscripts and drawings must be accompanied by stamped, addressed envelopes. NEW MASSES does not pay for contributions.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NM SPOTLIGHT

Two Willkies

In his St. Louis speech Wendell Willkie made out an excellent case against the policies of the dominant leadership of the Republican Party, but a very poor case against the policies of President Roosevelt. There is a dualism in Mr. Willkie's present course which this speech underlines rather than resolves. For at St. Louis he championed the ideas of international cooperation which he holds in common with the President—championed them against those forces in his own party whom he at the same time sought to propitiate with attacks on Mr. Roosevelt.

One can concede the skill with which Mr. Willkie is splitting his personality without being trapped into ignoring the contradictions in his position and the compromises he is making.

The St. Louis address was in the nature of a reply to a challenge by the Republican machine leaders of Missouri. Against these leaders, heavily tainted with defeatism, Mr. Willkie took the offensive, arguing eloquently for international cooperation in close association with Britain, Russia, and China.

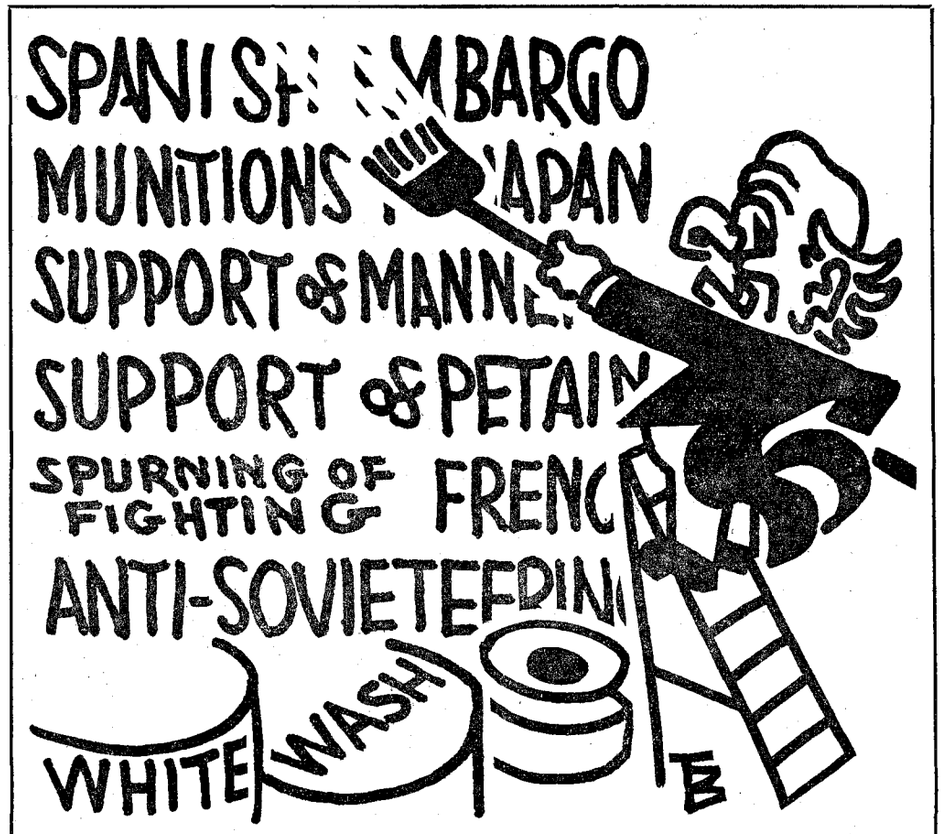
Particularly timely was his strong rejection of "exclusive offensive and defensive alliances between any two of the principal allies." He thereby struck at the position of Governor Dewey and others in both parties who have been urging exclusive Anglo-American action and alliance to counter the strength of the Soviet Union. "Such alliances," Mr. Willkie correctly pointed out, "will but divide, not unite the world."

Mr. Willkie also seemed to revise the attitude he expressed in his recent answers to five questions in *Look* magazine that all is going well in the Republican Party in regard to foreign policy. In fact, he sharply raised the question of what role the party would play. Instead of accepting at face value the flatulent phrases about "postwar cooperative organization" adopted at the Republican conference at Mackinac Island, he cited a similar Republican statement of twenty-five years ago and pointed out that the party then proceeded to nominate and elect Harding who "turned away from the clear import of that resolution."

And in his concluding remarks Mr. Willkie intimated that the trimmers and doubletalkers who dictate Republican policy could count on his support only of a Presidential candidate whose record leaves no doubt that he stands for the collaborative approach to world problems that the American people clearly desire. The weakness of this part of Mr. Willkie's address was his failure to recognize, as he did a year ago, that genuine coalition warfare and a speedy second front are the keystone of the future structure of world collaboration and peace.

It is in the sections dealing with the Roosevelt administration that the Willkie of *One World*, the spokesman for the Republican rank and file, gives way to the Willkie who is seeking the favor of the reactionary Republican politicians. Constructive criticism of the administration is always in order—though even such criticism ought not ignore the beam in the opposition party's eye. For example, Mr. Willkie's thrust at "the southern Democrats' Smith-Connally act" might have been more convincing had he not ignored the fact that Mr. Roosevelt too opposed this act and that a greater proportion of Republicans than Democrats voted to override his veto of this measure. And such statements as that the administration wasted billions between 1932 and 1940 and that social insurance is not on a sound actuarial basis, but on the basis of "politics and confusion of funds" sound too much like echoes of Republican-National Association of Manufacturers demagogy long since discredited.

Mr. Willkie's five-point program, moreover, though it contains the excellent suggestion that "labor's representatives shall help determine government's fiscal, domestic and international policies," is in other respects calculatedly vague and interlarded with concessions to the shortsighted prejudices of big business.



The State Department Writes History

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Like the Ostrich

A VERY young child closes his eyes and imagines himself invisible. It is hardly reassuring to find the State Department playing the same trick. But by publishing an 874-page volume entitled *Peace and War*, supposedly explaining US foreign policy in the decade 1931-41, the State Department childishly attempts the simple ruse of omitting much that is relevant (and mortifying), while doctoring a good many facts. The object of this finagling, it appears, is to fool the public into thinking that history is what the State Department says it is, and not the all too familiar events we remember.

Peace and War is a shabby business from start to finish; the more one reads of it, the more acutely one feels embarrassed for the State Department masterminds who presume to palm off this fairytale of half-truths on what they evidently consider simple-minded "outsiders." To be sure, the documents prove that Ambassador Grew recognized Japanese aggression for what it was, and warned Washington of its danger. There is no indication, however, that the State Department, ignoring these warnings, continued to appease Japan, supplying her with the war materials which she later used against us and our allies. And no one would gather from reading the volume that the US had ambassadors named Bullitt and Kennedy, or (on the other hand) Dodd and Bowers. The Spanish war, it seems, was a minor episode of no real significance. The USSR was evidently an obscure little nation which played no important role in pre-war Europe. Secretary Hull was omniscient.

The puzzle is why the State Department published this silly book at all. The easy explanation is that the department is distraught over public disgust with the machinations of the Adolph Berles, Breckenridge Longs and James Clement Dunns, and hastens to confound the growing host of critics with this elaborate self-apology. By painting failure as success, the hope is presumably to portray State Department blindness as foresight. Some pretense is given to this elaborate make-believe by including President Roosevelt's impassioned speeches calling for quarantining the aggressor and denouncing fascism. But even with this bolstering, the edifice crumbles.

Had the State Department published in full the relevant documents in its possession and frankly admitted its inadequacies and failures, it would have aroused hope that finally the United States is determined to begin hacking out a foreign policy with some relation to reality. But the little game played in *Peace and War*, this pretense that what happened did not happen, only serves to accentuate the fear that State Department adventurism and dangerous improvisation will continue. *Peace and War* hardly prepares the way for a coalition foreign policy based on coalition warfare.

From Madame Sun Yat-sen

THERE is no woman, and probably no man, who more perfectly embodies the democratic aspirations of the Chinese people than Madame Sun Yat-sen, the widow of the founder of the Chinese Republic. In the simplicity of her manner of living, in her directness of expression, in her limitless courage and devotion to the Chinese masses, she represents the China which has withstood defeat for these long, terrible years.

A message has come through from her on the thirty-second anniversary of the founding of the Republic. Dispatched from the Chinese capital, where reactionary elements are today in the ascendancy, it is noteworthy that the message has penetrated the heavy fog of Chungking's censorship. This in itself is encouraging—it indicates that even the defeatists and appeasers, who have much to do with the censorship, do not feel powerful enough to keep this voice of progress totally submerged.

The cable has been very carefully worded. Its brief references require elaboration. It begins with the two words "medicines received." This informs us for the first time that a few truckloads of medical supplies sent from this country and destined for the Eighth Route Army in the Northwest have reached those heroic soldiers. A breach has been forced in the Kuomintang's blockade of Communist-led armies. It does not mean that the blockade has been lifted but it does prove that the cause of aiding the democratic forces is by no means hopeless.

There follows the anniversary message which Madame Sun Yat-sen clearly intended to be broadcast as widely as possible outside China. It begins by saying, "We must remember that progress toward democracy is like learning to swim. One learns not by talking about it but by getting into the water." The foreign reader will recall that only a month ago the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang for the nth time postponed the inauguration of constitutional government and the convening of a People's National Congress. Can there be any doubt that Madame Sun refers to the interminable postponement of democracy symbolized by that recent decision? The entire record of China's war history shows that the reactionaries are mortally afraid of democracy. Madame Sun is saying to us: don't encourage these backward people, expose and isolate them!

THE cable continues: "War against Japanese military fascism provides another measure." Another measure of what? Of democracy, of course. It goes on: "Those serve it best who devote all their energies to fight against aggressor." Madame Sun is reminding us that all the Chinese are not fighting the aggressor. A million Kuomintang troops are immobilized because they are standing guard against their fellow Chinese, they are blockading the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies in the north. One might also consider that sentence a reminder to us that failure to participate fully in the fight does not serve the common cause.

The cable ends with a direct appeal: "American friends can help Chinese democracy by equally supporting all elements actually engaged in fighting Japan." Again we find an intimation that there are appeasers and defeatists in China who are not engaged in fighting the enemy. Let no one, however, think that Madame Sun Yat-sen is making a partisan appeal on behalf of the Chinese Communists. Far from it. She is expressing the hope of all patriotic Chinese progressives in the Kuomintang of whom there are many, those in several minority groups who have unfailingly struggled for national unity, and the Chinese Communists, who have led the way to the formation of a genuine coalition of all anti-Japanese elements regardless of political affiliation. She is asking us, the people of a powerful ally, and our government to support those in China who are actually fighting this war and to help them rid themselves of those who fatten on disunity and defeat.

Opening the Gates

"NATIONS, like individuals, make mistakes," President Roosevelt recently told Congress in urging repeal of the Chinese exclusion laws which date back to 1882. "We must be big enough to acknowledge our mistakes of the past and to correct them." The President had specific reference to a bill now pending which would permit immigration of Chinese under the quota system and allow Chinese residents here to become citizens. This measure is supported by the great majority of American citizens. A disgraceful exception is the Executive Council of the AFL (though not the rank and file), which despite the fact that the quota would restrict Chinese immigration to only 105 persons each year, takes the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

extraordinary position that the competition with American labor would be harmful. There is reason to believe that this ostrich-like attitude will not prevail and that the bill, with administration and popular support, will speedily become law.

President Roosevelt in his message said: "I regard this legislation as important in the cause of winning the war and of establishing a secure peace." No one who understands the character of the war can fail to agree. But what about the other Orientals whom we still exclude from our shores and to whom we still deny citizenship? Do not the people of the Malay Peninsula, of the Netherlands Indies, of India and of our own Philippine Islands constitute a vast anti-fascist army which will fight vigorously on our side only if we convince them that we mean business in extending the rights of democracy? And how about the tens of thousands of Orientals already in this country who through many federal and state restrictions are denied the rights of American citizenship? Let us win the war more quickly and more easily, and secure the peace by showing all peoples that we practice what we preach and that all have an equal stake in this great liberation struggle.

As the Wind Blows

NEUTRAL capitals are not unlike the anemometers of weather stations. They quickly register the drift of a belligerent's fortunes and in the case of Lisbon the reading is decidedly unfavorable to Berlin. Hence the granting of Azores bases to Britain. We recall, of course, Portugal's protest to our State Department when President Roosevelt in 1941 expressed fear that the Azores might be captured by the Germans, thereby imperiling the Atlantic defenses of the United States. Then the Wehrmacht was riding high and dictator Salazar could afford to be frigid toward the Allied cause. Now that we have the upper hand, much of that attitude is being transformed into glowing warmth however synthetic.

Acquisition of the Azores will not only be of great value in combatting the underseas wolfpacks; they will be of immeasurable help in securing the sea lanes to the Mediterranean as well as the approaches to France. And if Mr. Churchill invoked a medieval alliance in making his agreement with Portugal, we hope that policy towards the Lisbon dictatorship runs along modern, progressive lines. Salazar's genuflections before the Allies can only be interpreted as tokens of weakness. His country's economy has suffered by the war and without Allied assistance it would deteriorate still further. Internal discontent is rife, with demonstrations and strikes occurring in the larger cities. It is clear that Salazar hopes that the

Tri-partite Conference

THE thoughts of millions throughout the world are turned to the tri-partite conference of foreign ministers in Moscow. The press is filled with speculations concerning its outcome, ranging through the emotional spectrum from ultra-optimistic to ultra-pessimistic. Yet it would be illusory to expect more from the tri-partite conference than the character of the military and political collaboration among the United States, Russia, and Britain can impart to it. Undoubtedly the joint efforts of the three principal powers in bringing Italy into the war as a co-belligerent of the United Nations and in establishing a Military-Political Commission have strengthened relations among them. Yet all this cannot begin to fill the great gap that still remains: the meager contribution to the war against the heart of Axis power being made by the United States and Britain—meager because of the failure to open a second front in the west. And so the Moscow conference cannot avoid facing anew the old question. For the answers to all others, such as the postwar organization of peace, policy toward the liberated countries and toward Germany after the victory is won, are contingent on the solution of the central problem: the shortening of the war through the coordinated assault on Germany from the east and the west.

What about our own role in resolving differences and cementing relations with our allies? The opening of the tri-partite conference finds our country engaged in groping toward a clear course in foreign affairs. Clashing currents move through our national life. The five senators who returned from abroad with loud and intemperate claims upon our British and Russian allies have left a wake of bitterness strongly evident in the British press. President Roosevelt has rebuked the not-so-innocents whose trip abroad went to their heads, but the reports of the senatorial junketers have already led to a decision by the Senate Appropriations Committee to investigate lend-lease. This investigation, under the prodding of the Chandlers, Ellenders, and Nyes, is likely to result in new strains in relations with our allies.

On the other hand, the Senate now has before it a resolution drafted by a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee committing the United States to "join with free and sovereign nations in the establishment and maintenance of international authority with power to prevent aggression and to preserve the peace of the world." The sense of this declaration is the same as that of the Fulbright resolution recently passed by a tremendous House vote.

In the midst of these conflicting trends the speech of Sumner Welles, former Under Secretary of State, before the Foreign Policy Association comes as a notable attempt to elucidate the kind of foreign policy that our national safety requires. Mr. Welles is a conservative, but a conservative who knows that time does not stand still and that living reality cannot be fitted into the tattered patterns of the past without courting disaster. In his speech Mr. Welles takes as his starting point the safeguarding of our country against future attack. This guarantee of our national security, he points out, can be achieved only through cooperation with other nations in creating the conditions of safety for all. He urges "a clearcut and specific agreement in the near future" among the United States, Britain, Russia, and China as the foundation of the new order and the nucleus of a larger association of nations. Notable in Mr. Welles' discussion is his emphasis on a full understanding with Russia. "I know of no point," he states, "where the long-range interests of the Soviet Union are antagonistic to our own." And like Vice-President Wallace and Wendell Willkie he recognizes the new tides of national consciousness that are breaking the crust of the old imperialist world in Asia, Africa, and the Near East. "The enjoyment by peoples of the right of self-determination," he says, "is not limited by divine warrant, nor for that matter by the Atlantic Charter, to the white race. Peoples capable of autonomous government should be possessed of that right whether they be yellow or brown, black and white."

The chief weakness of Mr. Welles' discussion is that he omits from the structure of his thought the foundation of full and immediate military collaboration by the United States and Britain, without which all suggestions for the postwar period tend to become castles in the air. But the spirit of his speech and the stress on working with, not against other countries are most constructive. Mr. Welles has enunciated principles which reflect the hopes and desires of the majority of our people, principles which might well serve to guide the American delegation at Moscow.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Portuguese people will believe that London and Washington are supporting one of the most ruthless regimes in Europe. The last presidential election was a characteristic Salazar farce. There was no opposition candidate and those who did vote were merely a handful of the potential electorate.

Salazar is in a category no different from that of Franco. Together they form what has been called the Iberian bloc. The Azores development, therefore, undoubtedly had Franco's consent. Both Spain's and Portugal's internal scene are charged with explosive possibilities. Both heads of government are eager for Allied approval. We can delight in and take military advantage of their harrowing dilemmas, but it must not involve strengthening them. Our best friends within both countries are as much enemies of Salazar and Franco as they are of Hitler. They—the masses of Portuguese and Spaniards—and not the Iberian caudillos are the most reliable defenders of our eastern Atlantic life lines. And it is on them that we shall have to count most heavily to protect their soil from Nazi reprisal should Hitler be mad enough to try it.

Ben Davis, Jr.

Not only in New York itself is there a deep interest in the candidacy of Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Negro Communist leader running for City Council. This widespread interest evolves from a number of factors. Both the New York City and state elections this fall are being watched throughout the nation, as a test of the strength of win-the-war forces as against political opportunists and downright defeatists. To say that the present City Council's record in this respect has been disappointing is an understatement. In the hands of a do-or-die Tammany majority, the Council has consistently turned down proposals of its progressive minority to protect and improve the welfare of the people and thereby augment the city's contribution to the war effort. Worse, the Council's majority has deliberately interfered wherever it could with the war work of the Mayor and the municipal departments. All of which makes doubly urgent the election of progressives who fully understand the issues of this war.

In the light of these facts, look at Ben Davis' qualifications. Graduate of Amherst and of the Harvard Law School, he first became known nationally as attorney for Angelo Herndon, whose historic case was successfully fought all the way up to the Supreme Court. He had already spurned the easy opportunity of a successful law practice in his home city of Atlanta and associated himself instead with the Communist Party as a means of serving his own people. In Harlem, where he has resided for a number of years, he became an outstanding civic leader. A hundred percent supporter of the President's war program, a leader of the Negro people, nationally as well as in New York City, a prominent member of the political party which has submerged all other considerations to the paramount business of forging

national unity for victory against the Axis —that is Ben Davis.

However, his election will not be easy. Voters' registration throughout the city has been disappointingly low, particularly in Harlem. Only if organized labor and other progressive forces throughout the county of Manhattan join with Harlem residents in placing Ben Davis high on their preferential list (we suggest first choice) will the city be certain of having a distinguished Negro leader on its new Council. He has been endorsed by scores of prominent Negroes, labor and civic leaders, and leaders in the arts. Councilman A. Clayton Powell, Jr., has called upon the people to put Ben Davis in the Council to succeed him. Joseph Curran, president of the Greater New York Industrial Union Council, in conveying to Davis the endorsement of his organization, wrote: "You received the unanimous endorsement of the Council delegates because of your uncompromising support of the win-the-war program of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and your fight for the rights of the Negro people." It is up to the electorate to back such endorsements with action—by putting Ben Davis and other fighting progressives on the City Council.

Bolting the Ballot

Even those of us who had no illusions about the moral character of the right wing state leaders of the American Labor Party are shocked by their Brooklyn henchmen's second vendetta against the American electoral system. In the primary on August 10 the ALP Progressives in Brooklyn elected 1,974 county committeemen to 1,505 of the right wing group. But at the county convention on August 30 the Old Guard used steamroller tactics that outraged even some of their supporters in order to nullify the will of the voters and maintain themselves in power. As a result of legal action initiated by the Progressives, the state Court of Appeals ordered a new convention to be held October 11, with six tellers representing each side and equal representation in deputies who were to check credentials.

At this second meeting the Progressives had a four-to-one majority. Fearing certain defeat if democratic procedure were followed, the right wingers resorted to new trickery. For hours they obstructed the checking of the credentials and delayed the opening of the meeting until after midnight. They then declared that since October 11 had passed, the convention was no longer legal, and bolted. The meeting, however, proceeded to elect John Crawford, New York *Times* copy editor, as chairman of the Kings County (Brooklyn) ALP and Max Torchin executive secretary.

It also designated Abraham Bernknopf and Richard Mazza as ALP candidates for the city council. In his inaugural statement Crawford made clear that now the Brooklyn ALP will for the first time be able to put into effect the proposals of Sidney Hillman, chairman of the CIO Political Action Committee, for strengthening and democratizing the party by extending its trade union base.

It is ironic to think that it was the Progressives whom liberal publications like *PM*, the *Nation*, and the *New Republic* accused of trying to wreck the American Labor Party. But the issues in Kings County, as throughout the state, are now so elementary that no honest person, whatever his original sympathies, should hesitate to take his stand on the side of democracy and decency.

Youth for Democracy

The Young Communist League is dead, the American Youth for Democracy has been born. Between these two events there is a sequence and relationship. But the new organization is not a duplication of the old; it is something fresh, larger in scope and meaning. There has come into existence a new American anti-fascist youth organiza-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion which aims to unite young men and women without regard to race, color, political or religious belief in a movement dedicated to total victory and a democratic peace. This is one of the most dramatic and hopeful developments in our political and social life. It is an effort to provide that leadership for the young people of America which will enable them to live up to the great moral obligations of the war and the peace, obligations which were discussed so penetratingly by Earl Browder in his address at the mass meeting which opened the national YCL convention in New York.

Three hundred and thirty-two regular and fraternal delegates to that convention, in the presence of some 150 guests and observers from other youth groups, voted unanimously to bring to an end the YCL's twenty-one years of fruitful work for the sake of the larger anti-fascist unity that a new organization makes possible. Immediately the YCL convention was declared adjourned, its leaders stepped from the platform, and non-Communist youth leaders took over.

From certain newspapers and certain academic halls came the expected sniping. But the purveyors of petty malice are confuted by the broad character of the leadership and program of American Youth for Democracy. Elected co-chairmen were Staff Sergeant Robert Thompson, recipient of the Distinguished Service Cross for heroism in New Guinea fighting, and Naomi Ellison, chairman of the National Industrial Council of the Young Women's Christian Association. The two vice-chairmen are Winifred Norman, chairman of the National Council of Negro Youth, and John Gallo, former intercollegiate middleweight boxing champion, now recreation director and member of the executive board of Ford Local 600, United Automobile Workers, CIO, the largest local union in the world. Carl Ross, former chairman of the New York State YCL, was chosen executive secretary, and Robert McCarthy of Quincy, Mass., president of Local 37, Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, CIO, was named secretary-treasurer. A national council of eighty was elected, consisting of leaders of youth organizations from all parts of the country.

THE constitution of American Youth for Democracy describes it as "a character-building organization dedicated to the education of youth in the spirit of democracy and freedom as set forth in the program." The program urges full coalition warfare with our allies, the strengthening of national unity behind the Commander-in-Chief, collaboration with the labor movement, and a determined struggle against fascism abroad and at home. It calls for universal obligatory military training after the war and declares that all phases of youth life, including economic and social security, health, education, recreation, morality and ethics, and political activity, are the province of the new organization. A plan of action was also adopted which includes emphasis on the immediate opening of the second front, the organization of a national movement to extend the ballot to eighteen-year-olds, and the abolition of Jim-Crowism in the armed forces through Presidential action.

The Last Letter Home

You probably don't know the name. It's one among hundreds of others who have died in battle. He was a lawyer before he was commissioned in the Navy. He was twenty-six, talented, and brimming with love for home and family. But before he was killed, Wallace Bonaparte wrote a letter to his mother and father in Los Angeles. It was simple, direct, full of those emotions of a man who wants eagerly to live but is always prepared for the tight, sickening moment when the enemy bullet does its evil work. "I am deeply conscious," he wrote, "of what I am fighting for and would not sit at home during this war if I could." In highly personal terms freedom and democracy meant for Lieutenant Bonaparte the right to protect those closest to him—the common denominator of all fighting men who know what the Nazis and the Japanese have done to the helpless and the innocent.

His letter was sent out by the news associations. And we find it among the most moving war documents we have read. A sample of the caliber of our armed forces, it should remind us again of our obligations to them. We find it also the occasion to inquire whether you have contributed to the National War Fund which opened its drive last week. Lieutenant Bonaparte's last note to his parents should make you dig down and dig deep for an agency that benefits our own troops and those of our Allies abroad. Do it today.

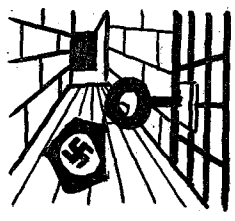
Not a Personal Matter

IT SEEMED like just another society divorce scandal. This time it involved an army major. It was shocking of course to read accusations of habitual drunkenness and grossly immoral behavior against an officer in the armed forces.

Yet there is nothing remarkable in the fact that out of thousands of officers an occasional one turns out to be thoroughly obnoxious in his personal life. But reading the newspaper story to the end, one encountered among the charges made by the major's wife the following: "By words and deeds he has indicated that he is unpatriotic and he has frequently stated, 'This is a war as to who will rule the world, whether it will be Adolf or Joe, and my vote is for Adolf.' " And further on: "He has boasted to me that he and his family have contributed financially to the support of Gerald L. K. Smith, a notorious, rabble-rousing pro-fascist demagogue of Detroit."

The major in question is Horace E. Dodge, scion of the millionaire auto family of Detroit. We submit that the charges made by his wife, Martha Devine Dodge, concern not only the two persons directly involved, but the country as a whole. They call for action not only by the New York justice sitting in the case, but by the US Army. We do not know whether the charges are true, but the War Department ought to find out. Major Dodge has just been placed on the inactive list by an Army medical board. He is said to have backing in very high places. But it is quite clear that the loyalty and patriotism of the members of our armed forces, especially of those holding responsible posts, must at all times be above reproach. We strongly urge Secretary Stimson to order an immediate investigation.

Escape from a Chain Gang



IN 1925 when Samuel Bukhannon was fifteen years old he pleaded guilty to stealing a pack of cigarettes. He was sentenced to the chain gang in Fulton County, Georgia. Fourteen years later, still on the chain gang, he learned for the first time that he had been sentenced for not less than twenty-two and not more than forty-five years for several crimes which he had not committed and for which, as far as he knew, he had never been charged.

In 1939, working on the Parks County chain gang—same state—he refused to testify on behalf of a guard who had murdered a fellow prisoner. He was repeatedly beaten. One day he was violently assaulted and left to die. Bukhannon regained consciousness, crawled away, and eventually worked his way to New Jersey. A few days ago a New Jersey court refused to grant extradition to the Georgia authorities and Samuel Bukhannon thereupon became a free man.

He owes his freedom to the mass campaign conducted by the New Jersey CIO Industrial Union Council and to the legal assistance of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and the firm of Isserman, Isserman, and Kapelsohn. This marks another victory in the long fight to Americanize the state of Georgia.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOOD AND SUBSIDIES

Washington.

NO ONE has ever accused John Carroll, the new director of the OPA's food division, of being tainted with New Dealism. Mr. Carroll, a former executive of the huge Kroger Grocery and Baking Co., which operates chain stores throughout the Midwest, is considered a hard-headed business man. Now, I'm not endorsing Mr. Carroll, but his reputation is significant in judging his remarks to a delegation of Florida potato growers who recently called on him.

The growers came to urge an increase in the price of winter potatoes. They were accompanied by their two senators, Claude Pepper and Charles Andrews, and by four of their representatives. Mr. Carroll listened to their argument, then leaned back and spoke his mind. I make no attempt to give Mr. Carroll's exact words, but his remarks were substantially as follows:

"Now gentlemen, there are undoubtedly cases where grower prices have to be increased to obtain the fullest production. Also, we all know that prices often must be raised to give the farmer his fair return as well as the return guaranteed him under the law. I haven't looked into this particular crop of winter potatoes, but let's take it for granted just for the sake of argument that these potatoes are one of those crops where price increases are desirable. When you can tell me how we can grant that increase—which we may have to do anyway under the amended Emergency Price Control Act of 1942—and at the same time obey the President's hold-the-line directive which orders us to keep prices to consumers at, or roll them back to, levels obtaining in September 1942—when you can tell me how to square these two orders which go in directly opposite directions, then you will have performed an inestimable service to OPA and to the nation."

Having in a few words posed the whole dilemma of price control, Mr. Carroll cleared his throat and doodled on a scratch pad. The delegation did not offer any solution. For on the surface, the contradiction in which the Office of Price Administration finds itself seems unanswerable. Last year, Congress approved the Emergency Price Control Act which specifically requires prices on agricultural commodities to yield the producer the *higher* of two levels: either (1) the parity level, that is, the ratio between what the farmer receives for his product and the general price level for the period 1909 and 1914 (or a correction of this parity formula); or (2) the highest price reached for the commodity between Jan. 1 and Sept. 15, 1942. On the other hand, President Roosevelt ordered that consumer prices, including prices on processed agricultural commodities, should not exceed levels obtaining in September 1942, irrespective of whether this meant less than parity prices to the producers.

Obviously, the only possible way to reconcile the legal requirements set down by Congress and the President's ceiling price order is through subsidies to absorb the difference between the two levels. Only through subsidies can farmers be assured the return guaranteed by law, while the consumers are protected from price rises above the levels set by the President.

SUBSIDIES can be applied in two ways—as Mr. Carroll pointed out to the Florida delegation. In one instance, the OPA can start at the consumer level, taking Sept. 15, 1942 as the maximum consumer price permitted, and then pushing prices back through the wholesalers and processors to the farmers, and at the point of production paying a subsidy to bridge the gap between the legal price established by Congress and the amount the farmers receive on the basis of the September 15 retail ceiling. Or alternatively, the process is reversed, the farmer is paid the legal price for his commodity, and the subsidy is applied somewhere along the line from the processor to the retailer, so that the consumer pays no more than the September 1942 price.

How real the problem is can be seen from an examination of what has happened to processed fruit and vegetable prices. Except for canned corn, tomatoes, snap beans, and green peas among the vegetables, and except for dried prunes and raisins among the fruits (and the supplies of these fruits are small because of the amounts needed by the armed forces) the prices on all other processed fruits and vegetables now exceed 1942 levels. The six commodities which have maintained 1942 prices fall within the buy-and-sell program of the Commodity Credit Corporation. The CCC has been buying these fruits and vegetables at legal levels and selling them without reference to the purchase price at ceiling levels. In other words, a subsidy has been applied. Lacking money to subsidize other commodities, the CCC has not broadened its buy-and-sell program to include all fruits and vegetables offered on the market, with the result that prices on the remaining products have risen above 1942 levels. The one exception is asparagus—an economic freak.

The price levels over 1942 have been from one to four cents on each No. 2 can. The increases include all canned, frozen, and dried fruits and vegetables. On strawberry jam—a popular item—the price jumped five cents on a one pound jar.

Such increases were inevitable. In the coming year, price rises will continue, steady and sharp, unless subsidies are applied. Labor and production costs tend to rise, swelling the legal price to which the farmer is entitled; and of course, many processors eagerly exaggerate this increase to excuse price increases which yield them greater profits. Incidentally, the full impact of price increases which have already occurred is yet to be felt, since most of the 1943 fruit and vegetable pack has just begun to come onto the consumer market.

ABOUT a month ago, President Roosevelt called the representatives of agriculture's "Big Four" to a conference. In his discussion, the President carefully avoided using the word "subsidy," and managed to persuade Ed O'Neal of the Farm Bureau Federation, Albert Goss of the National Grange, and Ezra Benson of the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, to go along with a program called "Loan and Redemption Payments" which appeared to be the same buy-and-sell plan now in limited use by the CCC. James Patton of the National Farmers Union lent his support though he called the plan "inadequate"; but of all the heads of farm organizations Patton has been the sole supporter of roll-backs and subsidies. Once O'Neal, Goss, and Benson left the White House, they promptly forgot their pledge to the President, denounced any general consumer subsidies, and again swung round to bolster the NAM's congressional farm bloc, which will have no truck with any roll-back plan.

Adding to the confusion, the War Food Administration under Marvin Jones has been willingly granting direct gifts in profits to the big growers by offering support prices for agricultural products which exceed even the legal maximum prices (a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

subsidy, in other words, to the large producers), while sabotaging a genuine buy-and-sell program to keep prices down to September 1942 levels. Jones has been bitten by the appeasement bug, and his whole policy so far has been to propitate the farm bloc and the reactionary farm leaders by fighting subsidies at every turn.

Jones' tactics have now resulted in a serious setback in the fight for subsidies. The House Banking Committee last week inserted in a bill extending the life of the CCC a provision banning all subsidies after December 31. The bitter-enders in Congress (the farm bloc), in agriculture, and in big business are on the offensive. Like their advocacy of a federal sales tax, their hatred of subsidies—and therefore their hostility toward any plan to stabilize the economy—expresses their eagerness to shift the burden of the war to the little fellow. For, without subsidies, prices must inevitably rise. On the outcome of the subsidy fight depends whether the economy is to be debauched or regulated in the interest of the majority. Speaking for the CIO, Russ Nixon urged Congress to continue and expand the Commodity Credit Corporation because, "The mounting burdens upon the common people now threaten the maintenance of the basic standard of living that is required for continuing the full productive contributions of war workers. These burdens, contrasted as they inevitably must be with the mounting excessive profits of war manufacturers and food processors, sow the seeds of disunity."

It is encouraging to find the expanded Congressional Committee for the Protection of the Consumer (the former "Fighting Forty") pledging an all-out battle for subsidies to enforce the President's hold-the-line order. "Our group intends to carry on this fight, beginning now with the appropriation for the Commodity Credit Corporation, until we have won this most important battle on the home front—the battle against inflation and food scarcity." The fact is, the struggle to win all-important subsidies is about to come to a head. From the vantage point of Washington, it seems that the responsibility rests on every organization of the people, and on every individual for that matter, to exert the maximum pressure to assure the life of the CCC and to win the battle for subsidies, which is the battle against inflation.

FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

OF TIME AND VICTORY

WHILE the timing of the piston-stroke in a one-cylinder motor is an extremely simple thing, such timing of piston-strokes in a multi-cylinder engine is very complex. Faulty timing may cause certain cylinders actually to work against others. They will all expend gas, they will develop energy, but that energy will be partly or totally wasted.

A coalition is a multi-cylinder engine. The coalition of the United Nations is a six-cylinder motor, not because of the number of its component parts, but because of the geographical pattern of its fronts. It is like a V-motor because its six cylinders are disposed in two groups of three cylinders each. The European group theoretically has three cylinders, or fronts. (We say "theoretically" because one of these cylinders is still inactive—potential, prerequisite, preparatory, if you wish—but its place is right there, in the pattern of things as they should be.) One cylinder is the Red Army on the Eastern Front, probably fighting at least 225 German divisions. The other cylinder is formed by the Allied armies concentrated in the Mediterranean area, battling five German divisions, with General Tito fighting five more. The third cylinder is located in England where at least two or three million excellent troops, armed to the teeth, have been poised for more than a year without fighting at all.

The Asiatic group also has three cylinders. We might call them by their national names: American (from the Aleutians to the Dutch East Indies); British (India-Burma); and Chinese (the China fronts).

If the strokes of these cylinders were correctly timed, both sides of the Axis would now be at the end of the road to disaster. They were *not* correctly timed, however—especially in the European group, where one cylinder is completely "dead."

THE strategic conditions of a struggle of coalition are complex. Each one of the farflung fronts is characterized by special conditions. Commanders-in-chief are far from each other and cannot confer frequently. Unavoidable frictions arise. Timing becomes difficult because several wills operate. Therefore, the main attention must be given precisely to the element of timing. If this is not done, a centrally located enemy, with a single will, may take advantage of the situation to defeat the coalition piecemeal. That is what happened during the first eighteen months of this war. At that time Germany was not only permitted to strike at will, but given the opportunity to rest and recuperate, starting again when she was ready. During these lulls the Germans carefully corrected the deficiencies in their fighting organization disclosed by the previous campaign. Germany always retained the strategic initiative and a superior concentration of forces at the decisive spot.

The situation changed radically when the Germans attacked the Soviet Union, which did not permit them to switch the heat on and off or allow them any breathing spells—except for two in the spring of 1942 and 1943 when no large scale fighting was physically possible. The Nazis counted on winter to give them a chance to recuperate, reorganize, and accumulate strength, but every year the Red Army forced them to fight under the worst possible conditions. Aside from that, the Soviet High Command also timed its blows within the limits of every campaign, conducting a rolling attack which threw the enemy completely off balance. Soviet military timing was perfect, both *inter-* and *intra-*seasonally.

As the result of the 1941-42 Soviet winter offensive the Wehrmacht admittedly found itself in a critical position by March 1942. Correct coalition timing called for a piston-blow in the west. But the Mediterranean piston was in a bad way and the northwestern piston was dead. There was no coalition interaction and timing. Had there been—Germany might already have been defeated.

The result of the Soviet 1942-43 winter offensive was even more pronounced. Germany in March of this year was truly on the verge of a catastrophe. Again correct coalition timing called for a piston-blow from the west. Instead of that, we had a long chase of a few German divisions over the sands of Africa, the invasion of Sicily, and nothing else. Of course there was the perennial bombing of Germany, but that is really nothing but artillery preparation

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not followed up by an infantry attack—something not to be found in any military text-book—which can be compared to heating an iron without ever striking it.

Then came the "two" part of the Soviet "one-two" punch and the phenomenal Red Army summer offensive. The German High Command went into a panic, fearing a piston blow from the west. But all that came was the invasion of Italy and the homeopathic (though heroic and tactically excellent) fighting there which still goes on.

Meanwhile the Yugoslav Army of Liberation, ragged, hungry, and inadequately armed, went over to the offensive and achieved startling results in Slovenia, Slavonia, Croatia, Bosnia, Hertzegovina, Montenegro, and even in parts of Old Serbia. All in all, General Tito fights, holds, and worries five German divisions, or as many as both Generals Clark and Montgomery are battling.

Summer has run out. Autumn is here. Mr. Churchill's "autumn leaves" have long since begun to fall, but there still is no piston blow from the west. The great Allied armies in Britain still exercise, train, study, but do *not* fight.

Despite all the publicity attending the Italian campaign, despite the superhuman efforts of the handful of Yugoslav partisans, the fact remains that there are no large scale operations outside the Soviet front. When we fight a bloc of powers which have 300 divisions in the field, fighting ten such divisions is fighting less than three percent of the enemy's strength. And that is what the Mediterranean theater fighting amounts to: less than three percent of Germany's field divisions. Which gives the Germans a chance to compensate their losses with the help of their industry, which is still strong despite the bombings. It gives them a chance to whip into shape their reserve divisions which otherwise would have to go into battle completely raw. Finally, it gives them a chance to strengthen their still weak Atlantic fortifications.

SOME military observers tend to evolve a theory to the effect that as long as Germany is weakening anyway, it is best to sit and wait. They do not seem to realize that while they wait the life sap of the Hitler-dominated peoples of Europe is fast ebbing. The fact that the might of Germany is on the decline makes it all the more imperative to strike now, in western Europe, with full force. Any delay in doing this gives the enemy a chance to lengthen the war *which is his one and only strategic objective* since Stalingrad, Tunisia, Orel, Kharkov, and especially since the cracking of the Dnieper line.

In the Far East, the situation is somewhat different. The American piston is doing its job from the Aleutians to New Guinea, and doing it as well as means permit. The Chinese piston cannot do much until the British one (Mountbatten) breaks through Burma to the back door of China and "primes" the Chinese cylinder. So while in Europe it is up to London and Washington, in the Far East it is up to New Delhi. Eisenhower and MacArthur, strain as they may, cannot deliver a decisive blow because they are hundreds and thousands of miles from any decisive strategic objective, but England is twenty-one miles from France, and India is smack up against Burma.

The Germans are on the run in the east. Italy has fallen out. Portugal has suddenly remembered it signed an alliance with Britain in 1373. Finland is resuming its famous payments to the US on those so-called "war" debts. Spain is reported withdrawing its "Blue Division" (*how* blue!) from the Soviet front. Rumania and Hungary are shaking in their boots. As never before, the military and political situation favors the opening of a Second Front. The right moment has come in Europe. With Europe out of the way, the Far East will be taken care of without much difficulty. The Japanese war lords are degenerate monsters, but so are the Nazis. However, the Germans are much stronger than the Japanese, former Ambassador Grew notwithstanding.

The Week in London

London (by wireless), Oct. 18.

WHILE there is keen interest here in the coming three-power conference, it would be an exaggeration to suggest that the British people confidently look to it to achieve real results. This skepticism is probably due to the long delay in actually organizing the conference, and of course to the prolonged depression which came as an effect of the Quebec conference. Some fresh air was let into the situation when "Pravda" emphasized the simple fact back in the minds of very many British people—namely, that it's not much good discussing the postwar period unless you are prepared to discuss practical means of getting an ex-war and postwar.

Everyone here can see that that's the nub of the problem. True, certain influences have been most actively at work trying to fix up a grotesque political agenda for the conference—fix up, that's to say, in the sense of writing to the newspapers to tell the Foreign Office what it has to discuss. But the fact remains that most people fully understand that all these questions are entirely secondary to the all-dominating problem of military organization for victory.

A profound impression was made in England by the recent report of the US Senate Subcommittee on War Mobilization. That report, it seemed to many here, finally gave the answer to those anti-second fronters who continually clamor that an alleged lack of ships is the principal bar to opening a second front. With facts and figures, the report proved the absurdity of such suggestions and seemed to underline the fact that opposition to the second front was not based on military, but on political considerations. These revelations contributed to the atmosphere of skepticism about such opposition.

I say "skepticism"; I do not mean cynicism. I think that people are skeptical for the reasons I have mentioned and perhaps for other reasons which emerge pretty clearly from the news. But cynical they are not. They hope with extreme intensity that something will emerge after all from the Moscow talks and that the obstructions which they have been led to believe will be placed in the way can be overcome. It is obvious to everyone, for instance, that conversations about the future of the Balkans are absurdly and grotesquely in the air unless and until the military question of the defeat of that power which now more or less controls the Balkans has been decided. In my opinion there are many people in Britain who believe that there are many other people in Britain who do not grasp the simple, essential fact. But it is necessary to add, in speaking to American readers, that just those people in Britain who are actively or passively supporting the most reactionary policies for Europe—just those people are supported in their beliefs by the idea that the United States at least is fully supporting them.

CLAUDE COCKBURN.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FUTURE OF ITALY

Prominent Italian-Americans and others present their views in a New Masses symposium.

Jimmy Savo

Star of stage and screen

"WHEN you go to Rome and see Mussolini, please tell him that I, Constantino Bigi, cannot pay the taxes this year because I am very poor and I have two daughters who work as maids in Orvieto and they make only thirty lire a month and cannot help me."

Hat in hand, the shaky old man had stopped me in the square of the tiny town inside the walls of a feudal castle on top of a high hill. There for eight centuries lived princes, counts and, once, Pope Innocent the Twelfth. I, a comedian from the Bronx, was now the landlord. I think that little town, populated by nineteen men, women, and children, is in a way Italy.

I am not a scholar, but some things I know. I know that in that town, a few months before the war started, the thirty lire Constantino's daughters earned for a month's work was worth one dollar and fifty cents in American money. Constantino had owned one acre, far away from his home on the hill, and because he was too old to cultivate it, he gave it to a *mezzadria* —a sharecropper—to cultivate. As his share of the profits he received each year a bag of wheat and some olive oil. It was on these that he had to pay his tax.

I know that no one in my little town owned any land but Constantino with his acre. The mountain is of hard stone, and only wild bush grows on it. The people have tried to cultivate small orchards, but the wind, strong in the Apennines, dries everything up.

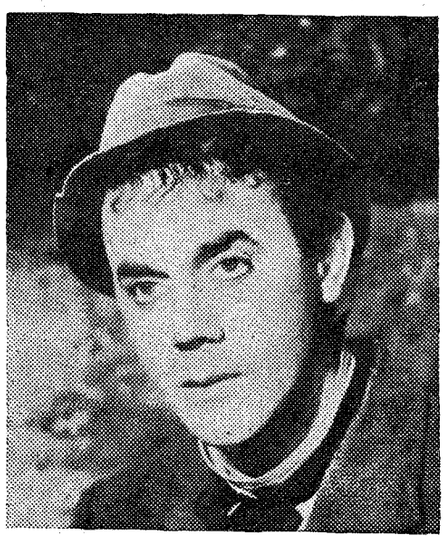
The cultivated land is far away. And even that is not enough to give wheat to the Italians. On the farms the farmers made their own bread. In the cities the rich managed to have good bread. The poor ate bread which, after ten minutes on the table, became hard as stone. What was in that bread? Plaster of Paris, some said.

I know that Italians need bread. I know this, too: when the Pontine marshes were drained many workmen died of malaria. They needed the work—work that killed them. Emigration had stopped. Three hundred thousand from the south of Italy had emigrated somewhere every year. There was no bread for them at home, no jobs. They used to come to America. My father was one of them. So in the time of the Pontine marshes these Italians, starving at home, rushed to the marshes from all over. Though the malarial mosquitoes killed them, it did not kill enough of them to make jobs for all who needed them. I saw a man arrive on a bicycle after traveling seven days to beg for a job. He was turned down. Thousands like him were turned down. In despair they begged. They had left behind families looking to them for help. These jobs paid eight lire a day, forty cents. Living and insurance and other things cost six lire a day, leaving two lire, ten cents, to be sent home. But even for such jobs men fought—a chance to die for ten cents a day.

I know that where Constantino lives there was a boy of twelve, Alfreduzzo, who had had one egg in all his life. And Alfreduzzo had no shoes. So he could not go to school. To go to school and learn the ABC's in Italy a child must have shoes. My cousin, who went back to Italy from America when she was twelve and became a teacher, told me about that. There are not enough schools, teachers, books to accommodate all Italy's children, so the law limits attendance at school to those who have shoes.

WHEN Constantino asked me to speak to Mussolini for him I said I would, for he was so innocent that it would have been useless to explain. When I went to Rome the nearest I came to an interview with the Italian government was when detectives picked me up and took me to the station house to explain what I was doing walking along the streets without apparent purpose.

Well, I know those things about Italy.



What is to become of the country of my parents? Constantino, I could not tell Mussolini what you wanted him to know. But I can tell America. And I would tell you, if I could, about the Atlantic Charter and you would want to believe it, as I want to believe it. There is nothing wrong in Italy that the Atlantic Charter cannot cure. It speaks of free access to raw materials and freedom from want. The country that has exported so much genius to the rest of the world may be allowed to bring in those things that make it possible to stay alive and have shoes with which to become educated. Perhaps when Alfreduzzo has shoes it will be discovered that he is another Galileo or Marco Polo, Dante, Galvani, Volta, Columbus or any one of hundreds of other Italians who have helped to cure the whole world of the ignorance he and his countrymen now suffer.

If the five-party coalition intends Italy to be a democracy, a real democracy, it must be allowed to make it so. But I hope that among them is someone who represents in Italy, and, more important, outside of Italy, Constantino and Alfreduzzo and those poor men who came on bicycles to the Pontine marshes. They are Italy more than anybody else; they are the majority.

Should the anti-fascists be allowed to play a part in Italy's future? There are many groups who say, "We are anti-fascist, and now we will move to Italy and rule it." But who is to tell us if these aren't again moved by their own advantage? The people of Italy ought to choose their own democratic government. The true anti-fascists can help.

I would tell Constantino and Alfreduzzo and the man on the bicycle that their lives and the lives of their children hang upon the Atlantic Charter, which covers all these things. If the Atlantic Charter lies, they who have never heard of it, can give up hope. Italy will end by being only another starving colony of some "great power" or group of "powers."

Rev. A. Di Stasi

Minister, First Italian Presbyterian Church, Pittsburgh, Pa.

IN MY opinion, the future of Italy depends more on the wisdom and fortitude of the Italian masses than on her military power or outside help. I am aware of the fact that, for some time, the United Nations will exercise a certain amount of influence in political and economic matters. Whether

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they do it through a modified AMG or through some other kind of organization, the fact remains that the Allied powers will want to keep an eye on the future government and economic development of Italy. If the Allies are guided by the unselfish, democratic principles which are given as the reasons for our participation in the war, they can greatly assist Italy.

But I am fully convinced that the future of Italy will be more prosperous and peaceful and illustrious if the masses realize that the destiny of our beloved land lies in their own hands. I am not advocating a policy of class distinctions. On the contrary, I want to put an end to the age-long distinctions which have cursed all the nations of the earth from time immemorial. I believe in the soundness and fairness of the masses. I trust them. I know that they are more likely to look after the welfare of the entire nation than will any small group.

Because of this conviction, I hope that the five-party coalition will have sense enough to stick together after the Germans have been driven out of Italy. The component members of the five parties represent practically all the same strata of the Italian population. If they have the wisdom to realize the need of their united effort, and are animated by genuine love for Italy more than by the desire to enhance the power and prestige of the individual group, the future of Italy will be the envy of the world.

But the masses need guidance. The multitudes have a warm heart, and an instinctive craving for decency and justice. But they often lack the knowledge and foresight needed to act wisely. They must have leaders with vision and with a passion for justice to all. It makes little difference if they come from the concentration camps or from exile. What counts is the convictions and the character and wisdom of the men who will have the tremendous responsibility of enlightening and guiding the masses.

Demetrios Christophorides

Editor, Greek-American Tribune

ONE cannot think of the future of Italy without thinking of the future of Europe. Only in a framework of European economy and political regime can one conceive of the future of Italy along with other nations; and then again, only under people's democratic regimes of Europe can Italy, with her millions of people, live in peace and live the creative life of which she is capable, as we know from her long history since the days of Dante.

Italy, like all Europe as a whole, is overpopulated, perhaps to a higher degree than any other country. In the past sixty years, the ruling class of Italy has attempted to solve the problem of overpopulation by an expansionist policy. When the country was too weak to compete with other industrial and colonial countries, even to a small degree, the surplus population emigrated, especially to the Americas; but even this could not cure the evil, since Italy's agrarian economy was too primitive to satisfy the needs of the masses of the peasants who constituted the great majority.

Later on, the Italian imperialists engaged in colonial expansion and in the development of industries. They failed in both because they were too weak, in comparison with rival imperialist countries, to achieve the first aim, and because the natural resources of the country were inadequate to achieve the second one. The Italian ruling class simply could not conquer and could not convert the country to a manufacturing center with imported raw materials.

The outcome of the Italian imperialist efforts brought the country, after the last war, to an economic impasse. Mussolini, with his adventurist policies in Abyssinia and Spain, was inevitably pushed into the arms of German imperialism, forcing the country into the most disastrous war in its whole history.

Today, Italy has become the battlefield between the forces of Nazi tyranny and the forces of the democratic nations. Her future depends on the victory of the United Nations and a people's peace. If the people of Italy succeed in their struggle to choose their own form of government and reconstruct the country in the people's interest, then not only will they rid themselves of reactionary forces, both domestic and foreign, but they will also contribute to the democratization of all Europe.

Indeed, in the postwar political struggle —after the crushing of Hitlerism—around the issue of the future political and economic shape of Europe, the victory of the people of Italy will carry great weight. The five-party coalition, it seems to me, is the only preliminary basis for a broad democratic government.

Under a people's democratic regime, the various countries of Europe, while keeping their continental natural boundaries, with changes here and there, are bound to establish a united agrarian and industrial economy. Italy, France, Germany, and other countries will then solve problems of overpopulation as they arise and when they arise, not as separate states, but as part of Europe. Emigration may be necessary in the future, but not in the sense of conquering other people, backward or civilized, but in the sense of living together with them on a basis of full equality. We can take a leaf from the history of the Soviet Union of how to solve the whole problem of nations and national minorities, both in Europe and outside of Europe.

THE people of Italy have a big job ahead. They have to combat the desperate effort of the old forces to return in a new form and with new slogans. If reaction prevails again in Italy, after the defeat of the Nazis, then Italy will again become a member, or, rather, a blind tool of the monopolists and cartelists, thus bringing greater catastrophe to herself and to the people's cause in Europe. Italy (like any other country) has no future whatever as an independent country if the old forces prevail.

In this respect, the attention not only of the people of Italy, but of all anti-fascist forces outside of Italy, especially in the United States, must be concentrated on the question of the administration of Italy while she is being liberated. With the understanding that no action whatever should stand in the way of military operations, and that such cooperation with the Allies should be complete, the anti-fascist forces of Italy must unite around the five-party coalition. They must do this not only to prevent fascist elements in Italy from taking advantage of the AMG but also to organize the people and make them deeply conscious of the character of the war and of the kind of peace they must have.

It seems to me that all anti-fascist forces inside and outside of Italy must intensify their educational and organizational activities among the people. The Italian-Americans, who are a great numerical, moral, and political force in this country, must play their very important part; and that means they must be mobilized.

One important factor both in the liberation of Italy from the Nazi tyranny now and in the establishment of a people's government in the country is the cooperation of its organized popular forces with the Balkan peoples. Already we have indisputable evidence of such cooperation between the Italian armed forces in the Balkans and the Yugoslav and Greek guerrillas. This fraternization is not a casual incident or phenomenon. It means the gradual but fast deterioration of fascism in the armed forces of Italy and a definite new orientation in national, political, and social concepts.

Sen. Elbert D. Thomas

Chairman, Senate Committee on Education and Labor

NO COUNTRY in Europe has more problems facing her than Italy in becoming a nation worthy of a leading position in the sisterhood of nations in the new democratic world. First, she has fascism to overcome. That will not be easy, as Mussolini has destroyed practically every person that we would call political, and without political persons democracy is impossible. Second, her educational system must be revised so that some semblance of freedom of thought may have a chance. Third, she must have a new system of justice, freed from the single-will notion that courts should be controlled by political decree, so that judges may be permitted to administer justice and not politics.

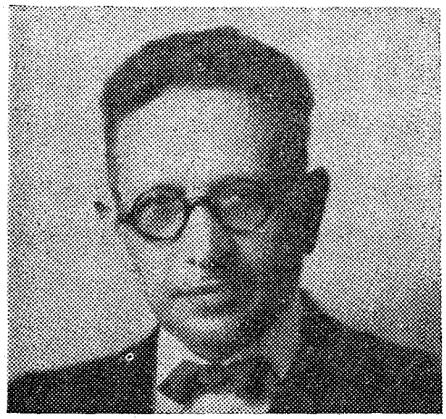
(*Continued on page* 14)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Italy is now learning again a lesson taught her many years ago: viz., that a state should never invite another state to come into its borders even if such a state needs help, because the invited state does not leave when it should. Italy now must overcome the evils not only of her own fascism, but also of the foreign Nazism.

Still, a new birth will be possible if proper persons are allowed leadership.



Frank M. Bellanca

Noted airplane designer and president of American Aero-Marine Industries

I CONSIDER the Italian situation one of the most pathetic tragedies of our time. An anxious life of privation under the king and Mussolini, merciless mass bombing by the Allies and destruction of cities and villages from the air, humiliating treatment by the Nazis—this has lately been the lot of Italians.

Even now after unconditional surrender there is still more bombing and destruction. After so many months of incredible suffering the Italian people have reason to feel that England and the United States are treating them as guinea pigs. The same policy of "too little and too late" that prevailed in the Pacific is prevailing in the Mediterranean also. Russia is right. A courageous second front would have upset the distribution of the German armies and would have speedily destroyed the Nazis.

Even if the Allies did not want to open a second front across the Channel, why had they not attacked Italy at a much more vital point than the extreme south coast of Sicily? Why this insistence on peripheral attacks when a surprise attack around Livorno, for example, would have created such confusion in the Nazi ranks that it would have cut Italy from the war in a jiffy. Such an attack would have quickly destroyed any German resistance and would have seriously relieved the Russian front of many German divisions.

As it is, the Badoglio surrender has in some ways strengthened the Nazis in Italy because they now control the situation with an iron hand. Because of the Allies' lukewarm tactics, Italy is now plunged into a complete hell, and every foot of her soil and every city is now in the disastrous path of the marching armies. And as if this were not enough, Italy's sons—the prisoners of war—continue to be detained by the Allies in concentration camps just as are the Germans. Why? Is this fair?

Yes, despite all this, the first duty of every Italian is to help the Allies' efforts. The Allies are the only hope of salvation for the freedom of Italy. This fight for freedom has cost the Italian people dearly, and is going to cost still more, but it is our only way out of the abyss into which we have been plunged by the bestial deeds of Mussolini.

There is no doubt that the Allies have the Nazis cornered this time. It is a matter of time now, a short time, we hope. The irresistible advance of the Russian armies is undermining the courage and remaining strength of what was once called the invincible German armies. A mass attack in western Europe would have sounded the tocsin of Hitler's destruction and would have automatically saved millions of Russian and Allied soldiers. It would have saved the lives of millions of people all over the world.

Obviously the Germans are fighting a stalling war in Italy. Many weeks will pass before the Allies reach the "Po line" providing still more precious time for the German armies to retreat from the Russian front. Winter approaches quickly—the winter which the Germans hope will slow down the Russians in their inexorable march.

IT IS very hard to say what the program of the United Nations will be for the reconstruction of Italy. What we know is what we read in the newspapers, and from the newspapers we know that Churchill at the end of the war intends to close a ring of iron around Italy.

The future of any country is based on the solution, one way or another, of certain basic economic problems. Churchill says that Italy will be deprived of her colonies, where she spent most of her resources in the last fifty years. Whether Churchill has some other way of resolving the economic problem of Italy, the future will tell. We say to Churchill beware of another Treaty of Versailles.

Italy is overpopulated. Italy lacks fuel and raw materials for industry. Italy has no markets and no money. Compelling her to live inside her boundary without foreign help would mean to starve her. It is time for the powerful Allies to start working in the interests of all humanity and not in the interests of the British Empire. To act otherwise means to pave the way for another war in the future.

We have faith in the Allied cause, which is the cause of a better humanity. Through the combined efforts of the four powers—the United States, Great Britain, Russia and China—we hope to find the best security for justice and peace in the world of tomorrow. The presence of Russia and China in an international organization will have a beneficial effect, both morally and materially, on the old countries.

Just as the cooperation of all warring nations is imperative, so is the cooperation of all Italians, in and out of Italy, without regard to personal or party interest. This is the way to weld a united front in the fight against the German oppressors today and for the cause of justice and national freedom tomorrow. Until now the United Nations have not encouraged the cooperation of the anti-fascists. But we hope that this will change eventually and that the new Italy will be built on the solid foundation of real democracy and economic justice.

Michael Garramone

President, Local 1, State, County, and Municipal Workers Union, CIO

A STRONG and independent Italy will be possible only if complete political freedom is guaranteed every Italian, coupled with a strong and vigorous policy of eliminating all vestiges of the fascist regime. Moreover, a truly independent Italy can only be established if there is assured the Italian people the type of economic assistance from the United Nations that will guarantee: (1) rehabilitation and reconstruction of war-torn Italy; (2) practical assistance in the re-establishment of local enterprise without foreign domination or control; (3) a social reform program which will guarantee labor standards and a sound agrarian policy.

The Italian five-party coalition is an example of the unity of the majority of the Italian people not only in the ousting of Mussolini and the winning of unconditional surrender, but as a symbol of the unity of the Italian people for the future salvation of their country.

The present operation of AMG is not entirely satisfactory inasmuch as in practice it has tended to deal with the remnants of the various local fascist regimes and has failed to tap the tremendous resources for the establishment of a flourishing democracy by utilizing the anti-fascist underground fighters who have made possible Italy's surrender.

Finally, the unconditional surrender and partial occupation of Italy is bringing the war to its final decisive stage. Without underestimating the military significance of the Italian operations, it must be obvious that Italy cannot be considered a genuine full-fledged second front. On the contrary, to follow this assumption would mean merely to follow the strategy of the German High Command whose main purpose in Italy is to divert a full-scale invasion of western Europe. The fruits of the Italian invasion can only be properly realized if it is coupled with a large-scale offensive across the English Channel.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Peter V. Cacchione

Member New York City Council

IN ORDER for Italy to emerge a strong and independent country, all fascist leaders must be brought to justice for their crimes. All people's organizations, such as trade unions, peasant organizations, consumer groups that existed before the Mussolini regime, must be permitted to exist again. Free democratic and secret elections must be held after order has been restored, so that the people can choose the government they desire. All fascists' fortunes and enterprises must be confiscated by the new government. Assistance on the part of the United Nations is necessary for the rehabilitation of Italy by means of food, medicine, materials, machines, and loans in order to make Italy as nearly self-sustaining as possible pending a solution at the peace table.

My opinion of the five-party coalition that led in the movement for peace is that this national front represents the overwhelming majority of the Italian people. It should so be recognized by the military authorities of the Allied Nations. The military authorities should work with the leaders of the national front, accept their assistance, as well as advice on every military and political move that is made in Italy. Evidently, the five parties have been ignored so far by these military authorities. The five parties could have done a great deal more in organizing and mobilizing the people to assist the Allied military authorities in their objectives. If this had been done right after the invasion or immediately after the ousting of Mussolini, the Badoglio government would not have been able to have delayed for five weeks and thus given the Germans the opportunity to entrench themselves in most of Italy.

I would define the role of the United Nations as that of liberators, destroying the fascist regime, allowing and fostering the legal existence of all anti-fascist political parties, as well as trade unions and people's organizations, and restoring all the democratic rights of the people so long denied by the fascist government.

I DO not consider the Allied Military Government a satisfactory instrument on the Italian mainland. Very few of the lower fascist officials in Sicily have been removed. No meetings of the people are permitted to be held. Anti-fascists are still held in prison. As yet there is no freedom of the press. All these things must be done before I would consider it satisfactory.

The United Nations should rally to its assistance every sincere anti-fascist. There are many of these in the United States, in Mexico and South America—all sincere fighters against fascism. They should be contacted and passage to Italy secured for them. There should be no discrimination because of political beliefs. The ones who should be refused this opportunity are those who call themselves "anti-fascists" but who have always been anti-democratic and have revealed themselves by their enmity toward a member of the United Nations, namely the Soviet Union. To permit people such as these entrance into Italy would only lead to greater disunity of the people rather than the unity that is so urgently needed at the present time. Most of the sincere anti-fascists were leaders in organizations of the people. They are known and trusted by the Italian people. To use these anti-fascists together with the leaders of the five parties in Italy would be a sure way of destroying whatever influence fascism still has left in Italy.

The five weeks delay the Badoglio government was permitted after the ousting of Mussolini enabled the Nazis to entrench themselves, to strengthen their position. From all indications they are going to fight to the last ditch to hold the Allied army at the Po river. This means that Italy is becoming a bitter battleground in this war. The Allied governments must take all steps to win over the Italian masses to their cause. Italian war prisoners should be taken into the Allied armies and permitted to fight side by side with American and British boys for the freedom of their fatherland. The opening of a second front in western Europe, preferably through France, would force Hitler to fight on another front, would greatly weaken his present position and hasten the day of destruction of fascism on the European continent, thereby bringing the war in Italy to a conclusion and permitting the Italian people the opportunity to reconstruct their nation.

A New Chapter

I DO not believe that the contributors to this symposium would have altered the essence of their opinions had they written after the Italian declaration of war. What remains uppermost is the conviction that the Italian people must be the helmsmen of their fate. That belief is supported by the welcome pledge made in the tripartite statement accompanying the announcement of Italy's co-belligerency. So a new chapter opens and what will be inscribed is the story of the beginning of Italian democracy—shaped in war and perfected in peace. But it is only the beginning. The immediate, paramount task is to cleanse the peninsula of the Wehrmacht. And if there are those who consider this objective as solely military, they will be fighting critical battles with one hand tied behind their back. Military policy is no better than the political policy in which it is inevitably rooted. Correct political approach will be that which disdains to commit again the errors of the past and fulfills with deeds the proffered pledges. Because our commanders and those of the British are in direct charge of Italian operations, on them, along with our civil representatives, will fall the major responsibility of making and executing policy consonant with the desires of the Alfreduzzos and the Constantinos of whom Jimmy Savo talks so movingly. "They are Italy more than anybody else, because they are the majority"—a majority whose aspirations the king and his chief minister thwarted for two decades. They are the men and women of Naples who with bare fists fought back the Nazi machine gunners; they are the workers of the north who jolted Badoglio into capitulation when other and more sinister plans were occupying his mind. They are the five-party coalition.

Italy will redeem herself. Italy is also the testing ground of whether we shall harmonize our interests with those of the peoples of Europe, whether we shall move with the forces released in this war of liberation or find ourselves isolated and stigmatized by the chicanery and class-selfishness of some men in exalted places.

Italy will need our help in a hundred different ways. It must be the kind of assistance which, without strings attached, will give Italy the strength and the means of restoring her own power without those native parvenu imperialists who have brought her close to the grave. For that we shall have to understand the cause of Italy's poverty and reject the discredited theories of Italy's "overpopulation." This Malthusian hokum has been a comfort to latter-day expansionists—the purveyors of *lebensraum* myths. I know that such intentions are farthest from the minds of Mr. Bellanca and Mr. Christophorides, but a few words in their statements might be misinterpreted as lending credence to such views. The reason for Italy's steep economic decline will not be found in her so-called surplus of people. It will be found in the squandering and pillage of her former rulers—a looting which reached its crescendo during Mussolini's regime. To become self-sustaining Italy above all needs a broad, progressive government which will know how to use her resources both for victory and reconstruction.

JOHN STUART.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

YUGOSLAVIA'S REAL LIBERATORS

Louis Adamic further exposes the Mikhailovich myth and describes the true anti-Axis fighters in his native country —the great People's Liberation Front, embracing all patriots.

As I WRITE, in mid-October, the general press carries a great deal of news about the Partisans in Yugoslavia. But there is as yet meager understanding of the significance of the movement of which they are a part—of the Yugoslav People's Liberation Front that two years ago was little more than a phrase and then gradually evolved into a potent military-political idea, a fighting program in line with South-Slavic traditions and natural instincts formed through centuries of adversity.

There are a number of ways of describing the Yugoslav Liberation Front. One, and perhaps the most graphic, is to say that it is a hastily, crudely constructed military-political raft which, tossing on the turbulent and bloody flood waters of spontaneous revolutionary resistance, had room for both Communists and various kinds of anti-fascist non-Communists. This last fact makes it one of the most important developments in the world today.

The raft was built of logs, planks, and debris that floated about. It never pretended to be a *Normandie* or a seagoing yacht; nothing as finished and fancy and slick, nothing as delicate and vulnerable as that. It was in its own way an extremely tough, efficient, and tenacious craft.

THE Axis and Mikhailovich, assisted in varying degrees by the Yugoslav government in London and some of the agents of the British War Office (up until January '43), tried their best to wreck it. Uninformed or reactionary Americans in and out of the State Department helped by suppressing or ignoring the facts of its existence for over a year, stealing the Partisans' victories over the Nazis, Italian fascists, and two different kinds of quislings, and attributing them to Mikhailovich. But the flood waters finally—just lately—carried the raft over the retaining walls of censorship, first weakened by Moscow, the Inter-Continent News, and the leftist press in England and America.

Then official Britain, noticing the Red glow over the miracle of Stalingrad, experienced enlightenment, which will be forever to her credit—if it does not dim out in the near future. Official Britain began to take steps toward establishing liaison with the Partisans, specifically with Tito, their commander-in-chief.

LIAISON was established in May 1943 and announced on July 21 by the General Allied Headquarters for the Middle East at Cairo, which is a British outfit and which suddenly admitted that the Partisan successes during 1942-43 were of great value to Allied strategy. But until just the other day, as it were, these successes were skimpily reported in the large American papers, news magazines and journals of opinion, although information about them was available in New York from day to day—at the office of Inter-Continent News, a source no redder than the communiques of the Red Army, which were published. In mid-September United Press dispatches and the New York *Times* special correspondents still mistakenly credited the victories to Mikhailovich or the Chetniks, perpetuating the hoax that the inner clique of reactionaries and chauvinists in the Yugoslav government-in-exile and their pals, the British agents who have interests in Rumanian oil and Yugoslav mines, began to erect way back in 1941.

AS OF this writing, no large American—or, so far as I know, British—publication has yet noticed the Liberation Front beyond mere mention. It is persistently ignored as the democratically constituted over-all of the military-political-administrative system operating in the liberated territory which has also a deep influence in the occupied regions of Yugoslavia.

This is not true of the Axis press. Nearly a year ago fascist writers began to take notice of the government of the Yugoslav Liberation Council (*Veche*) as practiced in the liberated territory. It was no mere administration that they could ignore, but a democratic procedure in continuous action which worked effectively against the Axis scheme of fomenting internal strife and inciting one national or religious group against another. Russo, the Zagreb (Croatia) correspondent of *La Stampa*, wrote that "the Partisans have indeed become heirs to the Yugoslav idea." The Serbo-Croatian unity, which appeared dead and buried in 1941 as a result of the combined doings of quisling Pavelich and quisling Nedich and the government-in-exile and Mikhailovich, has been resurrected under the leadership of Tito and Dr. Ivan Ribar, president of the Liberation Council.

Swinburne wrote: "Not with dreams but with blood and iron shall a nation be molded at last." The first Yugoslavia—as I show in detail elsewhere—was molded with dreams and chicanery, and from the top down. Now, within the Liberation Front, a new Yugoslavia is being molded with blood and iron, from its depths up . . . from within the resistance, in victory and defeat . . . in and from the raft.

BUT something else is being molded in that raft—war and postwar techniques, formula, approaches, and relationships. Within the Yugoslav Liberation Front movement, as in wartime Russia, various kinds of non-Communists (the great majority of the population, as in Russia) have been working together with people who call themselves Communists. They have been working together on the basis of mutual war and postwar aims. To stress: this fact seems to me of crucial importance. I say "people who call themselves Communists," for in the Partisan Army and among the Liberation Front civilians that designation—after two years of almost unbelievable struggle for life and eventual freedom—lost the special, sharp, distorted meaning it had before the war. Not that Communists have given up the Communist ideology or that non-Communists have taken it on. In the situation in which they find themselves most prewar labels have become irrelevant long before the Comintern was dissolved. The titles that mean something now are "Liberation Front" and "collaborationist" or "White Guard," "Partisan" and "Ustashi," "Chetniks" and "Nedichevtsi," "ally" and "enemy" and "traitor," "Mother Russia" and "the Anglo-Americans."

People who used to belong to many parties are working and fighting for something beyond the whole botch of fear-ridden counter-revolutionary impulses and unrealistic revolutionary notions of the previous twenty-five years, beyond the red-herrings and the Stalinist-Trotskyite struggle, beyond the Moscow trials and the Russo-German pact, beyond World War II. That something is as yet without a name unless it is "a New World."

The Yugoslav Liberation Front contains a lesson for the rest of the Allied world. It is a working united front.

LOUIS ADAMIC.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BULLITT'S STRANGE JOURNEY

The truth about the man who now aspires to be Mayor of the City of Brotherly Love. Echoes of Munich. The author of ugly fiction and worse fact.

Philadelphia.

PHILADELPHIA is electing a mayor this fall. Ordinarily that might not be news of any great interest to people outside of Pennsylvania. But this year's election is not only significant nationally, it has its international ramifications as well. For the Democratic candidate is William Christian Bullitt, former American ambassador to the Soviet Union and France, international intriguer and Munichite par excellence.

Prior to Bullitt's candidacy his star had declined, along with his policies. He had, as *Time* magazine put it, been "long-shelved" by President Roosevelt. His diplomatic career was scraping bottom, with the one-time ambassador occupying a sort of glorified office boy's position in the Navy Department under the title of "adviser to public relations." It was from this bottom rung that he took the flying leap which will either land him in a strategic position to influence Democratic Party politics nationally, or consign him to a long merited oblivion. As mayor of the nation's third largest city Bullitt would be able to wield power—perhaps decisively—in the Pennsylvania delegation to the Democratic national convention. This is the second largest delegation in the country, and Bullitt would be able to team up with the man who is in a good position to control the largest delegation, Jim Farley of New York. Such a combination might well succeed in preventing the nomination of Roosevelt or of a Roosevelt type of candidate. All of which would enormously affect the conduct of the war and the character of the future peace.

Before examining Bullitt's questionable qualifications for any public office, let us take a brief glance at the way his candidacy fits into the Philadelphia story. In the past three presidential elections Philadelphia has given Roosevelt overwhelming majorities. But in the "off year" elections such as this, when only state or city offices are at stake, the voters have been unable to find much difference between candidates of the Republican or Democratic machines. They have shown their indifference to the candidates put up by the Democrats by voting, as the saying goes, "with their feet," allowing the Republicans, who have the better machine organization, to win more or less by default. Last year, however, the Democrats did nominate a Roosevelt supporter for governor, and he came within 154 votes of carrying Philadelphia. The selection this year of a really progressive win-the-war candidate for mayor would, in the opinion of many observers from all parties, have inspired the people of Philadelphia to a crusade against the Republican machine.

96

Mr. I. Astor raised the blinds of his pawnshop and opened the door. John entered.
"Vat you got?" Mr. Astor's trachomatous lids blinked.

Mr. Astor held the bracelet against his ghetto nose.

Novelist Bullitt shows his racism in "It's Not Done."

Bullitt, for reasons which we will soon reveal, is unable to inspire such a crusade. He has received the formal endorsement of the United Labor Committee, representing AFL and CIO unions. The endorsement was given by a top committee, without reference to the rank and file, and over the protests of a minority in the committee who saw through Bullitt's phony liberalism. The lack of enthusiasm that Bullitt's candidacy has aroused was shown by the abnormally low vote he received in the primaries.

The minority of union leaders, and other progressives in the city who found Bullitt unacceptable, have likewise rejected the Republican candidate, Bernard Samuel. They have, in most cases, come out in support of an independent, Jules Abercauph, an official of the AFL Jewelry Workers Union, campaigning on a win-the-war platform in support of the President's policies. Abercauph and his supporters are backing the Democratic candidates, except Bullitt. So is the Communist Party, which is playing an important role in exposing Bullitt's sinister career, and has forced the war issues out into the open.

THE GOP in Philadelphia is dominated by J. Howard Pew, of Sunoco Oil, and Sun Shipbuilding, a leading figure among the fascist-minded cabal in control of the National Association of Manufacturers. His corrupt Pennsylvania machine is obsessed with one idea: hatred of the President. The continuance in power of this crowd would undoubtedly doom Philadelphia to four more years of one of the worst city managements in the nation. Nationally, a GOP victory will leave Pew's position what it is now, in control of the Republican delegation to next year's convention which will select a presidential candidate.

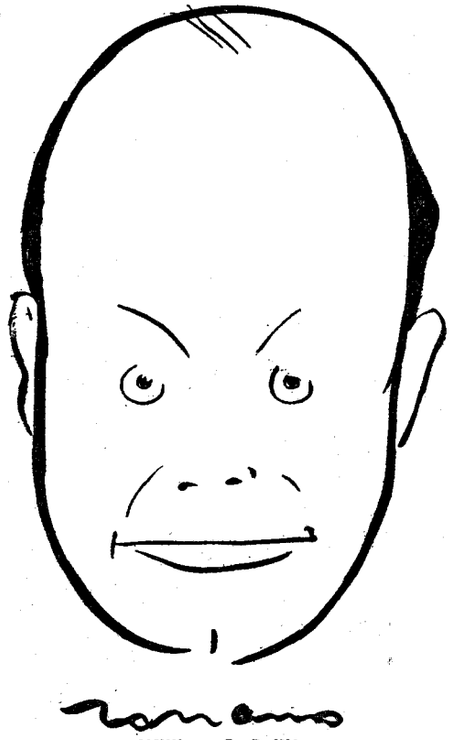
Will Philadelphia jump from the frying pan of Pew to the fire of Bullitt? A careful study of Bullitt's career over the past twenty-five years shows that he had good reason for saying, when he announced hearings on his election program, that "Personalities will not be permitted and the discussions must be confined to Philadelphia problems." Bullitt hopes to swim into office through Philadelphia's chlorinated water and sewage problems. But compared to his record even the purified garbage which the city drinks has a fragrant flavor.

IN 1926, when Bullitt was approaching forty, he wrote a novel called *It's Not Done*. This book is anti-labor, anti-Negro and anti-Semitic. Here are a few choice morsels from the mouths of Bullitt's characters. Page 192: "Business [in America] is run by Jews and parvenus." Page 337: "Jews! . . . There are only two solutions, there have been only two since time began: marriage or massacre. . . . If they're as few as in England, one can marry them without breeding that nose and that code of commercial immorality into the race, but if they're as many as in America, there's no solution but pogroms." The book contains many more such remarks.

Concerning a strike of transit workers (this was in 1926) Bullitt, through his hero, suggests that the governor "ought to declare martial law and shoot a few of them." Throughout the book the Negro and Irish peoples are maligned and ridiculed. Discovering that his wife has been unfaithful to him, Bullitt's hero says: "Why don't you pick a nigger longshoreman?" Similar references to Negroes occur repeatedly. As for the Irish, Bullitt pays his respects to them in the picture he paints of an Irish family: the father, a habitual drunkard, obtains money for liquor from his daughter, who earns it, with the father's knowledge, as a prostitute; the son is a social climber; another daughter tries to seduce Bullitt's hero for his riches.

Bullitt also reveals his social ideas in the following passage which his later career makes particularly significant. His hero says: "After all, there never has been a decent civilization that hasn't been imposed by a few aristocrats, and I'd like to show

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



William C. Bullitt

how it could be done in the United States." The effort made by Bullitt's apologists to relieve him of responsibility for these statements by saying that "it is his characters talking, not himself," is exploded by the whole impact of the book, by his failure to provide a single character to express contrary views, as well as by such passages as the following, in which the author himself, describing a Jewish pawnbroker, writes: "Mr. Astor held the bracelet against his ghetto nose."

For years Bullitt posed as a liberal and quasi-radical. This reputation was based largely on his mission to Moscow for President Wilson in 1919, in company with Lincoln Steffens, when he recommended recognition of the Soviet government. It was on his return from this mission that Steffens, a sincere progressive, made his famous remark that he had seen the future and it worked. Bullitt's own position was, however, quite different. This was revealed in point three of his published conclusions, in which he outlined a program for the overthrow of the Soviet regime. He wrote: "If the blockade is lifted and supplies begin to be delivered regularly to Soviet Russia, a more powerful hold over the Russian people will be established than that given by the blockade itself—the hold given by fear that this delivery of supplies may be stopped. Furthermore, the parties which oppose the Communists in principle but are supporting them at present will be able to begin to fight against them."

It was in connection with his Russian venture that President Wilson discovered Bullitt had been secretly intriguing against him with Lloyd George. Wilson refused ever to see Bullitt again and he remained in disrepute with the Democratic Party until 1932. The story of how Bullitt was forced onto President Roosevelt, and of the President's reluctance to appoint Bullitt Assistant Secretary of State, is told in detail by Raymond Moley, former Under Secretary of State, in his book *After Seven Years*. The President's hesitation was well founded. In 1932 Bullitt had been conniving in Europe, misrepresenting our foreign policy so grossly that Senator Robinson arose in the Senate and demanded his arrest and extradition from England!

Later, as ambassador to Moscow, Bullitt used his position to torpedo FDR's efforts to improve our relations with the Soviet Union, and to aid Nazi foreign policy. Ambassador Dodd's Diary has many references to Bullitt's activities of this period. Dodd, an ardent democrat, was horrified by Bullitt's brazen pro-Nazi sympathies and his intriguing in behalf of Germany. Typical is the following incident related in the diary (pages 371-72): "At luncheon with the French ambassador he [Bullitt] repeated his hostile attitude and argued at length with the French for the defeat of the Franco-Soviet peace pact then being negotiated, which the English ambassador reported to me was the best possible guarantee of European peace. This attitude of Mr. Bullitt seemed to me to be out of his range because France and England might think the President was speaking through him. I felt compelled to report the account as given me by the French ambassador. Later, or about the same time, when the new Italian ambassador came here directly from Moscow, we were told that Bullitt had become attracted to fascism before leaving Moscow."

As ambassador to France Bullitt continued his career as international meddler, provocateur, and pro-fascist finagler. He helped knife the Spanish Republic, played a leading part in wrecking the Franco-Soviet mutual assistance pact, and was one of the behind-the-scenes architects of Munich. His crowning infamy was his action on June 13, 1940, in declaring Paris an open city and turning it over to the Nazis. According to Forrest Davis' and Ernest K. Lindley's book, *How War Came—an American White Paper*, both Secretary of State Hull and Under Secretary Welles believed that had Bullitt retired with the French government to Tours and Bordeaux, he might have prevented its collapse and the appeal for an armistice. Bullitt chose to remain and deliver Paris to the invader. He himself boasted to a New York *Times* correspondent about how he kept the Parisians from resisting the Nazis. Later he said: "The Nazi troops of occupied Paris were considerate and correct in their behavior."

Returning to America, he praised Marshal Petain, said that Vichy was "no fascist state," and blamed France's downfall on the forty-hour week and the Communists.

The changes that have taken place in the war have forced Bullitt to alter his tactics, but not his objectives. Today he professes hatred for the Nazis, but he has devoted a large part of his energy in recent months to sowing distrust of our strongest ally, the Soviet Union. It was in Philadelphia only a few months ago that he made his notorious "carrot and club" speech, in which he urged that the second front be withheld in order that this might be used as a club against Russia.

So much for the past. What of the future? The water in Philadelphia *is* bad. Pew *does* live up to the onomatopoeia of his name. Only a genuinely progressive administration can be trusted to remedy this condition. But there are greater evils than bad water. The worst would be the election as mayor of a man who has helped bring suffering and bloodshed to millions and has done so much to undermine the security of his own country.

WALTER LOWENFELS.

Battle in Slovakia

SANO MACH, minister of propaganda of the Slovak quisling government and strong man of the fascist organization "Hlinka Guard" was especially worried by Mussolini's downfall. A purge of the Guard was ordered. All Guardists "who have shown signs of weakening or did not display the party sign or even took part in defeatist propaganda" were expelled, and many of them faced trials. But after two weeks the purge was stopped abruptly. The German "Volksgruppe of Slovakia" under command of the Slovak German fuehrer, Karmasin, has also begun to tremble. The recruiting of volunteers for the Waffen SS (the special Elite Guard detachments used for front line duty) had a quota of 1,500 men for the first six months of 1943. But even an increased drive in May and June did not step up the enthusiasm of the Slovak Germans for the Elite Guard. Only 347 men volunteered. Karmasin lately warned the Slovak Germans that they have to face extermination unless they rally to the Nazi party and "take up arms to the last man, woman, and child."

Karmasin's paper is visibly worried over the defeatist attitude of many Slovak Germans. "It is necessary to display the swastika badge proudly," writes the paper, "and not to hide it inside the lapel as so many Germans now do. It will not help them anyway if the war is lost." This is the first time that such a possibility is mentioned.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

READERS' FORUM

NMU Answers Pegler

While the letters printed below are not from NEW MASSES *readers they constitute a body of correspondence deserving publication. They are all contained in one long letter from Leo Huberman, public relations director for the National Maritime Union, to the editor of "Collier's," in answer to an editorial in that magazine which attacked the NMU for picketing Westbrook Pegler and defended Pegler on the false plea of "free press."—The Editors.*

DEAR SIR: Your editorial "Pegler Picketed" in the issue of October 2, 1943, raises some important questions concerning the concept of free speech and a free press in a democracy. Let me begin by saying that I am in complete agreement with your statement that "in a democracy there is no substitute for free speech, free debate, the right of everybody to speak his mind." Where we disagree is in the meaning of the word "everybody." Yours is a narrow interpretation of the word. You are concerned only that all columnists should have the right to speak their minds freely. Ours is a broader interpretation of the word. We are concerned with the right of individuals or organizations attacked by those columnists to present their side of the case. This right is almost never granted by the loudest exponents of a "free press"—yourself included.

You publish an editorial upholding Pegler and denouncing the National Maritime Union. You have had countless opportunities to read Pegler's side of the case. Have you, in all honesty, ever read the union's? If so, where? What section of the "free press" ever gave the NMU an opportunity to present its side? You say "instead of answering Pegler's charges with facts, the NMU leaders habitually content themselves with spreading personal abuse of Pegler." How do you know? Have you ever asked the union for the facts? Was it not incumbent upon you, in your concern for "free speech and free debate," to find out from us whether we had an answer to Pegler's charges? Had you done so, you would have learned that we do have an answer. We tried to get that answer printed in the New York *World-Telegram*, but we did not succeed. That newspaper, like *Collier's*, holds the narrow view that a "free press" means only the right for its columnists to say what they please, regardless of the truth.

You ask for facts. Here they are:

Pegler has charged that the members of the NMU are undisciplined, troublemakers, in constant conflict with the gun crews aboard merchant ships, money-grubbers, the despair of Navy officials.

On September 2, 1943, I sent the editor of the *World-Telegram* an answer to those charges. My answer was not couched in terms of "personal abuse, the old familiar name-calling, character-assassination." It was none of those things you so rightly deplore. My answer was merely a request that the editor print two letters from responsible officials—one a gunnery officer in charge of a gun crew, the other a president of a steamship company. Both had had experience with NMU crews and were therefore in a position to give convincing testimony.

HERE is my September 2 note to the editor of the *World-Telegram* with the enclosures:

Dear Sir: In fairness to those of your readers who may have been misled by Westbrook Pegler's unsubstantiated attacks on the National Maritime Union, may I ask that you print the following letters so they may learn the truth?

From Lt. (jg) T. A. Potter, Jr., USNR. To the President of the National Maritime Union: This is my third merchant ship to which I have been assigned as gunnery officer in charge of the Navy gun crew. In all cases the merchant seamen have been most interested in the guns and have all taken battle stations as assigned by myself in collaboration with the chief mate, chief engineer, and steward.

During this last trip we took part in the invasion of Sicily and saw a good bit of action against Axis planes, particularly at night. *Without the fine help from the merchant crew who assisted and augmented our gun crews we never could have maintained the rapid rate of fire necessary to defend the ship.*

It has been a pleasure to have been working with the merchant seamen and after watching them perform at Sicily, I can assure you that there need be no fear as to the failure of the Allied supply line. They are doing great work.

From President L. N. Stockard, Stockard Steamship Corp. To the National Maritime Union of America: On the recent return from the war area of a Liberty vessel operated by us as general agent of the War Shipping Administration, the master paid high compliment to his crew, particularly the unlicensed personnel, for the fine spirit and ready cooperation shown in volunteering to discharge ammunition and other explosives at an invasion port.

The master further states that the crew volunteered to perform this work under very trying circumstances and in the face of aerial bombardment, without asking for overtime or other extra compensation.

On behalf of the master, the officers, and this company, we wish to compliment the unlicensed personnel for their unselfish cooperation under trying circumstances, and we want to express our sincere thanks and appreciation for their exemplary conduct in the face of grave danger.

We feel sure this will stand out as a shining example of cooperation between members of your Union and our Armed Forces, which is so vitally necessary for the successful prosecution of the war.

I waited twenty days for that answer to appear in the columns of the *World-Telegram*. I did not expect that it would appear in Pegler's column, or in an equally prominent place. But I did hope that at least it might appear in the Letters-to-the-editor page. It never appeared—anywhere.

ON SEPTEMBER 22, 1943, I decided to try again. I offered the editor of the *World-Telegram* testimony from Captain Edward Macauley, second in command to Admiral Land, the top man in the War Shipping Administration. Also, a memorandum from the Vice Chief of Naval Operations. Here is my September 22 communication to the editor of the *World-Telegram:*

Dear Sir: On September 2, 1943, I sent you a copy of a letter from Lt. (jg) T. A. Potter, Jr., USNR, and one from L. N. Stockard, President of the Stockard Steamship Corporation. Both told stories which presented the truth about the members of the National Maritime Union. Since your readers have been subjected to a barrage of lies aimed at the NMU by Westbrook Pegler, I suggested that in all fairness to them, you ought to print the two letters. To date you have not done so. I am, therefore, enclosing copies of two other letters which, if printed, will help to lead your readers out of the maze of distortions and untruths into which Pegler has led them.

From Edward Macauley, Deputy Administrator, War Shipping Administration. To the National Maritime Union of America: It gives me a great deal of pleasure to enclose herewith copy of a communication from the Vice Chief of Naval Operations to the master, officers and crew of the tanker ——, expressing the appreciation and commendation of the Navy Department for the exceptional performance of the personnel while discharging cargo in United Kingdom ports.

There is nothing I can add to what has been said except that *we are proud of the record being made by members of the National Maritime Union of America, and I am sure you share our pride in this outstanding performance and will want to let your membership know that the job they are doing is appreciated by the Navy Department as well as the War Shipping Administration.*

From F. J. Horne, Vice Chief of Naval Operations. To the master, officers, and crew of the tanker ——: Subj: Tanker turnaround in United Kingdom.

1. The exceptional performance of the tanker —— while discharged in United Kingdom ports recently has been brought to the attention of the Navy Department.

2. It is noted that your vessel discharged her entire deck cargo of boxed planes in eight hours, then shifted to another dock where you discharged your entire cargo of bulk oil in eighteen hours.

3. *The highest credit is given to the wholehearted cooperation and efforts of the vessel's personnel, who gave up their normal shore leave*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

privileges in order that this commendable performance could be accomplished, thereby permitting the vessel to sail in a returning convoy days ahead of that thought possible. This accomplishment shows most clearly that you realize and are giving effect to the importance of prompt turnaround as being the equivalent of having additional ships in service.

4. It is with pleasure that I am requesting the War Shipping Administration to send a copy of this letter to the owners (Pan American Petroleum and Transport Company) of your fine ship, because I know that they will share my feeling of pride in the job you have done and are doing.

5. *In behalf of the Navy Department, I welcome this opportunity to express my appreciation and commendation for your accomplishment, which may well serve as an ideal of morale and spirit for the US Merchant Marine in the performance of their important duties in contributing to winning the war. I am sure that I can find no better expression than that used by the US Navy—"Well Done."* (Italics ours throughout.)

Note that on this occasion, as in the previous instance, all I asked was that the letters be printed—you know, "the right of everybody to speak his mind." I didn't ask for an apology from Pegler or the *World-Telegram.* I didn't ask for a retraction. All I asked was that the readers of the *World-Telegram* have an opportunity to get our side.

ON SEPTEMBER 23, I received an answer from Lee Wood, the editor of the *World-Telegram.* Here it is:

Dear Sir: I have your communications of September 2 and September 22. Mr. Pegler has written no distortions or untruths concerning the National Maritime Union of America. Therefore, there is nothing to correct or retract.

What do you think of that answer? What do you think of it particularly in light of the fact that one day later, on September 24, Mr. Wood ran your editorial in defense of Pegler? You say "you hear practically no conservatives urging that we kill off the first article of the Bill of Rights." Mr. Wood doesn't have to urge that—he just *does* it, at the same time that he talks smugly about the virtues of a "free press."

What the NMU leaders, whom you criticized, are after is not *less* free speech but *more* of it. What we want is a press that would be truly "free" in the sense that it would be open to us when we're under attack. What we want is a press such as you described, one which gives everybody "the right to speak his mind."

You criticized the National Maritime Union. Okay. Now you have our answer. You have the facts. We have the right to expect, from your own definition of a free press, that our answer will be printed in *Collier's.* How about it?

LEO HUBERMAN.

New York.

COLLEGES AT WAR

It's not all Liberal Arts today, says a youth leader. New programs, new purposes, and a new student spirit on the campus.

Last week we published an article by William Kerman reporting the attitude of a recently drafted college student to his alma mater and to Liberal Arts colleges in general. Those who read the article will recall that it constituted a vigorous indictment of the colleges for failure to keep up with the world of today and for outright reaction. The article below presents another point of view on this question; the author is Marcella Sloane, executive secretary of the New York College Council, Young Communist League. We again invite our readers to take part in the discussion.—The Editors.

AFTER reading William Kerman's article "Educating the Colleges" (NEW MASSES, October 19), I could not help feeling that he had drawn a picture of the colleges as they existed in the Coolidge era, when ivory towers were still in fashion, not of the last ten years. Perhaps that is why he feels the Liberal Arts colleges had better close, since they do not serve either the young people or our country.

In the first place, there are today few, if any, *purely* "Liberal Arts colleges." The college and university have become a training ground for young people to serve the war and postwar needs of our country. In most of the large colleges, vast changes in curriculum have taken place. Students everywhere are combining Liberal Arts with scientific training. Specialized training courses have been added to equip young people for the tasks required of them in the war and after. Old courses have been revised and brought up to date, and made more practical. This is true not only in science but in history, literature, languages, etc. Where college was regarded in the past as a "finishing school," students today are training for specific jobs. Practical field work, which now is undertaken as an aid to industry and government, is gradually becoming the rule rather than the exception. Accelerated intensive programs to graduate students in a shorter period of time have been instituted by many of the large colleges.

Although many such instances can be cited of the role the colleges are playing today, I want to give just two more examples to round out the picture. One is the institution of short-term courses for people in industry and other war jobs. The other is the Army-Navy plan which today brings into the colleges—and into the former so-called "Liberal Arts colleges," tens of thousands of young servicemen, some of whom might never have had a chance to finish school. These men come for specialized training, but their entrance has certainly given great impetus to revisions in the curriculum. Certainly this picture is very different from that painted by Mr. Kerman.

True, it has taken too long to produce these changes and many more are still necessary in the schools as well as in government planning of production and manpower so that the schools can be a really efficient training ground for war and postwar needs. True, also, there are many who still cry for the good old days of pure Liberal Arts and for maintaining the schools as custodians of ivory tower humanities. And these die-hards manage in many cases to hold up progress. We can point to the large city schools in New York, which still have not instituted accelerated programs. These attitudes, however, are being washed away by the tidal wave of an American public bent on winning the war and a sound world thereafter.

It must be noted that the changes made are not superficial. What is happening today will have a lasting effect on our college and university programs. To those who are interested in our educational system we say: it is your job to see that progress is more rapid: first, because it is vital to victory; and second, because the schools of tomorrow that Mr. Kerman's student wants cannot be achieved by closing down the colleges and then reorganizing them—this new school will come only as a result of present-day changes. It will result logically from the role the schools play in the war effort, and that role must be continued after the war.

WE CERTAINLY cannot be a partner to any plan which deprives the young people of a place to learn—however inadequate. That has been the desire of the fascists and most reactionary groups in our country in their efforts to narrow our democracy. The right of the people to education is a fundamental concept in any democracy. For years the labor and progressive movement has fought for the extension of education, and against budget cuts, against the Rapp-Coudert and other Red-baiting investigations aimed at accomplishing these cuts by slandering our educational system. It has fought for free higher education so that the people, not only the select, financially able few, would be the beneficiaries. The job of all American citizens desiring to rear a healthier, more intelligent

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

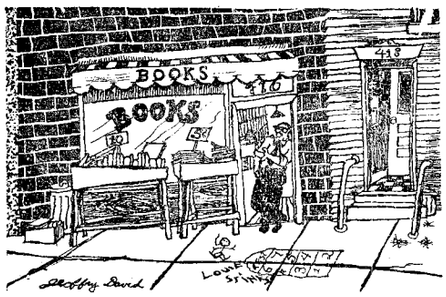
generation is to *extend* and *better* the present educational system.

Mr. Kerman's student speaks of the inadequacies of the college instructor. And to refuse to recognize such facts would be unrealistic. But here, too, let it be said that the press of present-day events, the vast changes in curriculum, and the pressure for more adequate training on the part of the student body is providing a jolt to the outmoded thinking of faculties. Some college instructors have had to embark on a retraining program for themselves. In order to keep their jobs, many are changing their courses and advancing their knowledge. No longer can they live on what they learned in 1910 or 1920. Of course there are some who couldn't be shaken by an earthquake out of their comfortable little shells, but these are exceptions.

Were all this not true, I would still take sharp issue with the presentation of the college instructor by Mr. Kerman's student. One is left with the impression that our educational system has been completely sterile; that in the field of the Liberal Arts nothing has been produced in the past decade; that all the faculty members of our colleges are reactionary nincompoops. I am sure that no student would subscribe to such a theory today. Of course there were, and still are today, instructors to whom students could not look for guidance and inspiration, those who had to be tolerated because they taught required courses, and those who imparted a reactonary philosophy to their students. But have we forgotten the inspiration of such men as Howard Selsam, Morris Schappes, and Philip Foner? Students even refused to attend classes when these men were dismissed from the New York City colleges. Thousands of them participated in a campaign to reinstate those instructors. It was the Rapp-Coudert Committee and other Red-baiting groups which deprived the students of New York City of the services of these men and others. It is the reactionaries and the Red-baiters again who are to blame if our schools are poorer in the quality of their instructors. The campaign against progressive educators is not a recent one, it has gone on for some time, reaching out to such universities as Yale, Columbia, and countless others. It was part of a wider campaign to limit education and to narrow the students' horizons. Any proposal to close the colleges would only mean victory for these reactionaries.

With all the witch-hunting, however, the enemies of education could never really strip our colleges of men and women who seek and teach the truth. You will find them in every large college and university in our country—women like Margaret Schlauch, men like the late Franz Boas, etc.

I might add here that the classroom presented in the Kerman article could not be regarded as particularly representative. Students do not live in a vacuum.



They are not meek sponges. They air their opinions and ideas not only at home, as Mr. Kerman indicates, but they make their classes the center of such discussions, the instructor notwithstanding. This is particularly true since the development of an organized student movement. The history and the scope of activities of the student movement is living refutation of the statement in the Kerman article that the campus "lived in an atmosphere entirely its own which had nothing to do with the outside world."

THE modern student movement took form shortly after the rise of fascism in the world. It stemmed from and had as its driving force the students' deep hatred for oppression and love for freedom. It grew rapidly in size and strength and as a result, the campus in the past decade has seethed with political debate and anti-fascist activity. These activities took many forms, a few of which we might recall, for example, the yearly strike and anti-fascist demonstrations which involved hundreds of thousands of students; the delegations to Washington, postcard campaigns and picket lines protesting the appeasement of fascism; the thousands of dollars collected to aid Loyalist Spain; and the protest demonstrations which took place all over the country following the rape of Czechoslovakia. In the domestic field the activities were equally intense and widespread.

Surely, this is a far cry from "indifference." Nor can we label "indifference" the activities in '39, '40 and '41. I do not wish to take issue with Mr. Kerman on the correctness or incorrectness on the part of large sections of the student body, which were in opposition to the war at that time, but rather with his description of the atmosphere existing on the campus. During that period the students' concern with the affairs of our nation and the world continued. There were the student strikes and demonstrations, the organization of classroom committees—working for repudiation of Munich and collaboration of the United States with China and the USSR—the student participation in youth pilgrimages to Washington. So intensive were these activities that certain college administrations tried to stifle student opinion by raising such slogans as "Remember the Fair Name of ——." They collaborated with state and local government bodies which also were concerned with these activities and which tried to intimidate the students by setting up committees to investigate the schools.

Certainly, it was not a campus that was "calm and indifferent to what was going on in the world" or one in which the student "did not consider that college was the place to display interest in such things." On the contrary, it seems to me that it would have been very difficult for any student at a large university to escape contact with political realities.

TODAY, more than ever, this is true. Practically every college in the country has a student War Council responsible for the organization of the students around war service activities. Interest in political questions is shown not only through editorials in the college press and through participation in campaigns such as that for the eighteen-year-old vote, against discrimination, for more effective coalition of the United Nations, etc., but also in another respect. It is shown in the desire for organization, for unity of the win-the-war forces on the campus, for a united anti-fascist student organization on the campus which can serve more effectively to mobilize the students for the winning of the war. It is shown by their desire to bring student youth into active collaboration with the working youth of our country. These desires were given voice by many student leaders in their enthusiastic response to the Young Communist League's proposal to dissolve itself and thereby create a basis for for a broad united anti-fascist youth organization.

In conclusion, I should like to say that while Mr. Kerman raises some very valid criticisms of our higher educational system, he is presenting an incomplete and in some cases false picture, and that he draws some dangerous conclusions. There is a need for vast improvement in our colleges. First, we need today more speedy and complete intregration of our schools with the war effort, with the necessary changes in curriculum that this demands. And we need some permanent changes. With the institution of new curricula we have the opportunity of taking great steps in the direction of a more practical approach to education, of completely destroying the old style Liberal Arts approach, and of extending educational opportunities through government aid. We have an opportunity of doing this, not only because of the changes that have already taken place, not only because of the growing awareness of the American public of this problem, but because within the educational system itself there are forces desirous of seeing these changes. This is evident from the bulletins issued by the United States Office of Education.

And if we grasp this opportunity, we will be much nearer realizing the type of college Mr. Kerman visualizes.

MARCELLA SLOANE.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE PEN AS SWORD

War was first on the agenda at the Writers Congress in Los Angeles. The film-makers, scholars, exiled authors and native American writers sharpen their weapons.

It is not easy to evaluate a meeting like the Writers Congress. We can put down certain facts: that 1,500 writers and scholars came together, that they met in Los Angeles early in October, on the campus of the University of California; that the Congress was sponsored by the university and the Hollywood Writers Mobilization. We can state the general purpose of their gathering: that the demands of the war brought them together, to exchange ideas, to learn how their own weapons could be sharpened and coordinated with the weapons of physical combat.

But these facts remain only facts. How to convey a true sense of the Congress, its magnitude beyond attendance numbers, beyond enumeration of "subjects discussed" and "resolutions arrived at"? Perhaps it is better not to try. After all, this Congress spoke for itself. To record what it had to say and how it said it—within necessary limits of space and selection—may properly be the one task left us.

To begin, then, at the beginning. The first thing before the Congress was President Roosevelt's greeting, characterizing the Congress as "a symbol . . . of our American faith in the Freedom of Expression—of our reliance upon the talents of our writers to present and clarify the issues of our times. . . ." It was read by Dr. Robert Sproul, president of the University of California, whose own welcome to the delegates carried the tone of the gathering: "Teachers and writers," he said, "should be the first to sense the importance of the changes that are coming and to adjust to them. In proportion as they do, in proportion as they are alert to the new needs and can modify or at least rearrange their prejudices to meet them, so will they fulfill their function in a changing society and establish their position as permanent and indispensable agencies of social progress."

Many writers there were famous not only for their work as writers. There were, for example, the men and women exiled from fascist countries for their convictions. There were Americans whose literary contributions had been infused and strengthened by their fighting ardor for democracy.

Representatives of the armed forces took part in the discussions. In a way, however, the most significant aspect of the Congress was the participation of motion picture writers, directors, producers, composers, photographers, and other workers. They were there with a problem and a purpose. For, despite the fact that Hollywood has changed since the war began, has produced some fine pictures seriously integrated with the context of our time, not even the most optimistic would argue that this great art medium is geared to the war in proportion to its enormous potentialities. Nor did anyone at the Congress so argue. It was recognized, for instance, that the motion picture industry, while it is a business that can function only so long as there is profit from its output, has a special sort of responsibility in wartime. A radio factory may be converted to the making of actual war tools. But a film industry has the advantage of remaining intact—with the vital responsibility of changing the content of some of its products. In part, that responsibility is being fulfilled, as the mortal urgency of the war becomes clearer to executives and film creators and as audience interest veers toward reality rather than escape. There was no chance of escape even within Hollywood. Many of its workers are in the war, fighting, entertaining, selling bonds, or engaged in making indoctrination and training films for the government. But Hollywood has struggled with a conversion more complex than that of replacing machinery and training new hands to new skills.

That struggle, its results and problems, were reflected at the Congress. In the discussions, craft and creative questions were never separated from the war or the obligations of the postwar period. An artificial cleavage of that kind would have been impossible. Indeed, listening to the discussions, one felt that it will never be completely possible in the future—not after the realities of this war period. The Feature Film Panel extended over two sessions, with representatives from Allied countries present, Thomas Baird of the British Ministry of Information, Jorge Delano, of Chile, Mikhail Kalatosov, film representative from Soviet Russia to the United States and Canada.

Col. Darryl F. Zanuck made the most astute and practical summation of advice to motion picture writers: that the writer in making a realistic adjustment of his material and his job must keep in mind that trying to write a box office success is not merely a mercenary goal; if he has something to say, and can say it dramatically, he wants to say it to as many people as possible. This potential is one of the most exciting characteristics of screen writing.

Robert Rossen, screen writer and chairman of the Hollywood Writers Mobilization, said of the new problems facing the screen writer today, "We have to deal with situations on which no research has been done, with characters that are new to us. . . . We have to write about a hero who has been around a long time, but whom we have just discovered. This hero is the ordinary man or woman of today who has discovered dignity and will live for it or die for it."

The Documentary Film Panel revealed exciting new uses of this type of film in the war, and its influence for realism in the fiction film.

The scholarly papers of Dr. Franklin Fearing, head of the university's psychology department, and Dr. Harry Hoijer of the anthropology department reminded writers of the necessary enrichment of their talent with scientific knowledge. Dr. Fearing stressed the need to understand the behavior of people. Dr. Hoijer spoke against unscientific racism, saying, "Minorities are universally the subject of what may be called ethnic myths or stereotypes. Should writers be educated in a scientific and objective knowledge of racial and ethnic minority problems and attain the power, through organization, to insist on the elimination of any material supporting a stereotype, he can contribute enormously to better understanding between diverse groups that make up our cities."

Walter White of the NAACP spoke stirringly of the problems of the Negro and how they might be solved. Carlos Bulosan, representing the Filipinos, told how the democratic writers of the Islands had been murdered by the Japanese invaders.

It might be said in all seriousness that military men are among the numerous stereotypes in our thinking. But that stereotype was badly damaged by the presence of Lt. Col. Evans Carlson, who related the success of his experiments with democracy in the Marines, by basing discipline on knowledge and reason rather than blind obedience. Maj. Alpheus Smith read excerpts from the *Guide to the Use of Information Material*, which he called a philosophy of the United States Army. (I wish every soldier and civilian could read this revealing document and practice its tenets.)

Panels on "The Nature of the Enemy" and "Writers in Exile" were almost as large as general meetings. Film writers contrasted the treatment of the enemy in the films of this war with those of the last war. Dr. Yu Shan Han, of the history department of the university, spoke of China's writers and their work under years of invasion, moving westward, carrying on from the caves and dugouts of a hard new world. Mikhail Kalatosov discussed the continua-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion and activity of Soviet culture in the war effort, even of new writers who have developed in the midst of physical devastation.

In a paper on the Nazi and the German character, Lion Feuchtwanger reminded us of a very heartening fact: "Without the noise of many trumpets, Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks*, or Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front*, or my novel, *Jew Suss* found in one year more readers than Hitler's *Mein Kampf* in six years of the most violent propaganda." But, he warned us, "If the Germans bear some guilt for Hitler's rise, then it stems from their indifference to politics."

Then there was Thomas Mann's moving paper on the tragedy of the writer uprooted from his people. "In any case," he said, "it is an advantage today, and historically appropriate to be a citizen of two worlds. The world wishes to become unified. Humanity faces the alternative of lacerating itself in one destructive war after another and to see civilization perish, or to agree upon a form of life which is based upon the idea of union and cooperation, in which the entire world is regarded as the common home of all and in which all are granted a similar right to the enjoyment of its fruits. In such a world and in preparation for such a world, it is of small importance to be a German, an American, or an Englishman, in short, to be a national in spirit, experience, language and feeling."

Said Vladimir Posner: "I shall write about the people, the people of my country, France, and the people of other countries, and then even exile will help me. Writers do not change worlds. But whatever happens, I would hate my daughter, who is sixteen, to read the first book I shall write after the war and close it without fully realizing what we did and what she has to do."

Novelist Phyllis Bentley, representing England at the panel on "Problems of the Peace," depicted a new sort of public enlightenment in Britain, developed through the education and information (political discussion groups) projects in the Army and Navy, and through government booklets for the home front—all of these on every conceivable subject from "Japan to Minelaying, from USA to Women in the Post-War World." The Nazis, she said, destroyed over a million books, but there has never been so much reading done in Britain as today. "After the last war," Miss Bentley remarked, "we expected the government to do this or that, we blamed the government or the older people—for not achieving the fine new world we wanted. Now, we expect to set to work to do it ourselves. We are therefore much more likely to get the new world, and much less likely to indulge in cynicism if we don't."

And screen-writer John Howard Lawson urged the writer to "understand deeply those healthy forces in our country and in our democratic tradition that are the basis of what we are fighting for." He believes writers are still guilty of too much pessimism. "This pessimism is not shared by the common man." Pessimism comes from an improper perspective of our national faults and the consequent tensions. "Whatever the particular shape or form the problems of the peace take, we can solve them triumphantly if we understand these deep human truths." Through every paper urgent with the tasks of winning the war ran the parallel task of shaping the peace. The writer, for his part, can no more afford to be ill-informed, carelessly analytical, comfortably mistaken than an armament worker can afford to turn out crooked gun sights.

The final session of the Congress was less a farewell than a beginning. Voices in the hall rose soberly in acceptance of the Writers Credo, dedicating skill and talent to: "the service of the truth . . . to the sacred right of free expression, and . . . opposition to every attempt to bind the free spirit of man with the chains of bigotry and ignorance." And finally: "I pledge myself to know the thought and feeling of the American people in their varied tasks and manifold unity—the jungle fighter creeping to his death, the farmer plowing in the warm twilight, the crowd pouring from the city skyscrapers and the dawn-watchers at lonely outposts. To these millions, I dedicate my skill and talent, and the strength of my heart and mind."

Plans were made for international cultural cooperation of writers and educators. The proposal that the government establish a Department of Arts and Letters is an historical point in the movement toward cultural expression of democracy. And the continuance committee arising from the Congress holds the seed of a national organization of all American writers, of a cultural and educational congress to be held in Mexico City or one of the cities of Central or South America, and of a future usefulness far beyond the war.

SANORA BABB.

Немецко-фашистское радио на-днях передавало: «Гитлеровское командование не нуждается в наступлении».
(Из газет).

Рис. Кукрыниксы.

«Планомерное» отступление

"Planned Retreat"—as viewed by Cartoonist Kukriniksy in the Soviet press. (The caption above reads: "According to the Nazi radio, 'The Hitler high command needs no offensive.'")

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FROM ALDRIDGE TO ROBESON

Over a century ago a Negro tragedian was celebrated for his performance of "Othello" and other Shakespearean roles. The world's debt to Ira Aldridge.

PAUL ROBESON's appearance as Othello on the New York stage recalls the career of his distinguished predecessor of the last century, the Negro tragedian Ira Aldridge. It was for his Shakespearean roles, and particularly for his Othello, that Aldridge became one of the celebrated actors of his time. His reputation was international. Aldridge's performances were enthusiastically received in every major European city: in Dublin, London, and Brussels, in Paris, Kiev, and Constantinople. He was decorated by the King of Prussia; he received the Order of Leopold from the Emperor of Austria; he was elected an honorary member of the Imperial Academy of Beaux Arts in St. Petersburg. Charles Kean, whose father brought Aldridge to England, once played Iago to his Othello. The Ukrainian national poet Shevchenko drew his portrait, which today holds a cherished place in the Tretyakov Art Gallery in Moscow. In the annals of the nineteenth century theater there is no figure more arresting.

With shame we recall that in his native America the Negro artist was not only without honor but without even a stage. He could fulfil his genius only beyond our frontiers. Aldridge devoted part of his European earnings to the struggle against the abomination of slavery and racist bigotry which had virtually forced him into exile. In 1867, at the time of his death in Lodz, he was planning to return to a liberated America. But it was not until 1943—this week—that a Negro could perform Othello on the New York stage. Remembering Ira Aldridge we may better understand how truly historic is the triumph of Paul Robeson, through whom a new century irresistibly asserts itself. And it is the ironic justice of history that Robeson, like Roland Hayes and Marian Anderson, should have taken voice lessons in London from Miss Ira Aldridge, daughter of the tragedian. (Incidentally, her musical compositions, under the pen-name of Montague Ring, have been included in Robeson's repertory.)

AS WITH Frederick Douglass, we cannot accurately date the birth of Aldridge; the Negro mother was scarcely permitted to hope that her son would one day be the subject of world biography. We know that Aldridge was born around 1805, though some encyclopedias suggest 1810 and the late Arthur A. Schomburg indicated 1807. There is some doubt about his birthplace too, opinion ranging from Belear, near Baltimore, to New York City, which, so far as I can ascertain, is the more likely place. His father is alternately described as a ship carpenter and as an African chieftain who on his arrival here became the pastor of a colored church. And there is similar discrepancy in the various records which I have searched regarding his education, the most general view being that he was trained for the ministry and then sent by his father to Glasgow. What does seem incontestable is that as a youth, Ira Aldridge was drawn to the stage and acted in Negro amateur companies. Wishing to get closer to the professional theater, he worked at odd jobs behind the scenes, soaking up everything he could learn from watching white performers.

His great chance came when the renowned Edmund Kean came over for an American tour. Kean took an interest in the young Negro, hired him as a personal attendant, and took him to England. Here Aldridge was able to study more systematically. In 1826, when he was only twenty-one, he made his debut as Othello at the Royalty Theater in London. It was not long before every manager in the country was eager to book him. I have examined scores of playbills and posters advertising "the African Roscius," as he was called after the great actor of ancient Rome. The testimony in behalf of his popularity and the skill of his acting is impressive, especially when one remembers what mountains of prejudice had first to be scaled.

It is worth recording some of the contemporary English tributes. They show how in his own person Aldridge became a force for enlightenment. The Hull *Mercury* said that "the mind displayed in his performance was of a character completely to put to shame those calumniators who have stated that the intellect of the Negro race is inferior to that of its white brethren. . . ." The Dublin *Comet* acknowledged that "Like most other plain folks, we had screwed our courage to the sticking point [believing] that no man of Colour could do the Moor of Venice justice: well, the play commenced, and then away flew all our preconceived notions and prejudices." Nor was such praise reserved only for his powers as a tragedian. One of his most successful roles was that of Mungo in the old musical farce *The Padlock*, in which Aldridge sang verses with obvious significance, like "What a terrible life I am led." One critic noted that "The ecstacy of his long shrill note in 'Opposum up a Gum Tree' can only be equalled by the agony of his cry of despair over the body of Desdemona."

His repertoire suggests his versatility. He played not only Othello, but Lear and Macbeth. His playing of the Negro Aaron in *Titus Andronicus* gave new life to a play that had long been neglected. He played lead roles in Sheridan's tragedy of the Peruvians, *Pizarro*, in Maturin's *Bertram*, and, as the old program notes say, "by popular desire," in Moreton's musical drama, *Slave; or the Blessings of Liberty*. His singing appears to have been as well received as his acting, and the old programs indicate that he introduced a number of songs written expressly for him, one of the most popular being "The Negro Boy."

IT WAS on the Continent, which he first toured in 1853 and where he spent much of his time thereafter, that Aldridge achieved his most striking success. In France Alexander Dumas the elder, himself of Negro descent, proudly greeted him as "*mon confrere*." The honors bestowed on him in other countries have already been mentioned. But nowhere did he find a more sympathetic audience than in Russia, where he acted not only at the capital and in Moscow but in provincial centers like Kiev, Odessa, and Kharkov. In his travel book, *Russia*, the French novelist and poet Theophile Gautier records that while he was visiting St. Petersburg the lion of the city was Ira Aldridge. Gautier found it necessary to reserve seats at the theater several days in advance. He describes Aldridge's appearance on the stage as magnificent—"Othello himself as Shakespeare has created him"—and he expresses satisfaction at seeing for once an Othello without sleeves of chocolate colored net.

As was usually the case on the Continent, there was no English troupe in St. Petersburg, and the Negro actor had to perform with a German-speaking cast.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Aldridge read the original text while Iago, Cassius, and Desdemona spoke to him in Schlegel's translation. To Gautier, who knew neither language, the Germanic combination seemed fine, though he could not help imagining how droll a medley it must have seemed to those familiar with both idioms. It is interesting to note that Gautier liked Aldridge's Lear even better than his Othello. All the requisite illusion, he writes, was perfectly produced. Gautier reflects with an invigorating sense of discovery that if a white can dress up for a Negro role, there is no good reason why a Negro cannot play a white role successfully. At least Aldridge had left little room for doubt.

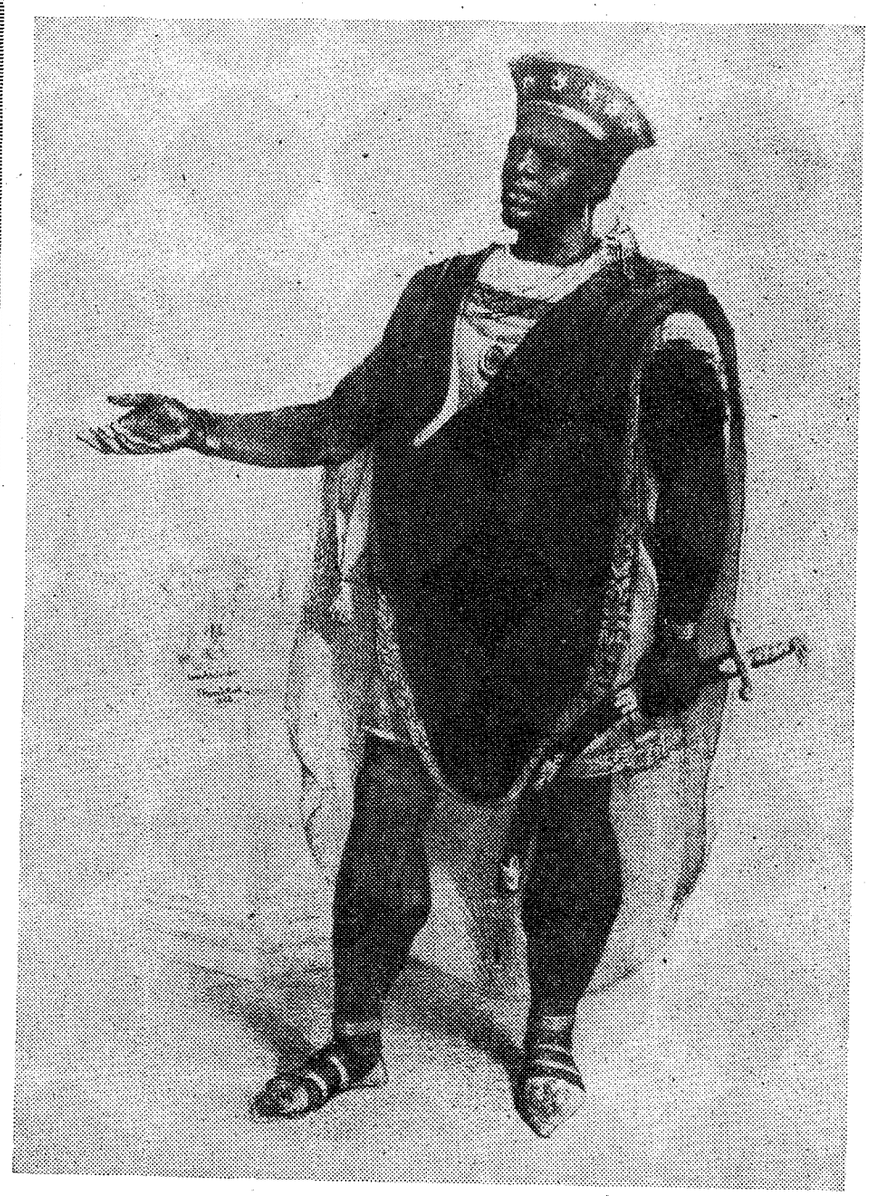
Soviet critics, who properly regard *Othello* as perhaps the most humanistic play of a great humanist, an immortal expression of the idea of racial equality, are profoundly interested in the Russian career of Ira Aldridge. In 1940 the Soviet scholar S. Durylin published a volume on Ira Aldridge, and judging by the review in the March-April 1942 issue of *International Literature*, it is a volume which should be translated and reprinted in America.

ONE point of great interest to the Soviet reader is the relation of Aldridge to the critics and actors of the mid-century. The tragedian first visited Russia in 1858, just a few years before the emancipation of the Negro slave in America and the serf in Russia. We know that for the progressive writers of the day, Chernishevsky, for example, the two great historical events were closely linked. The success of a great Negro actor in St. Petersburg was a triumph for the Russian oppressed as well. While the reactionary press tried to disparage the talent of Aldridge, the progressive Russian stage reviewers hailed him both as an exceptionally gifted actor and as a symbol of the fight to liberate Negro and serf. Famous Russian actors like Shchepkin and Sadovsky paid hearty tribute to Aldridge. It is especially interesting to learn that a conservative newspaper like *Novoye Vremya* attacked Aldridge for being Shylock's advocate and not his accuser in *The Merchant of Venice*. But the harried Jewish population cheered the Negro's interpretation. A contemporary critic noted that "In Zhitomir, where the audience was mainly Jewish, Shylock was considered Aldridge's best performance."

To the Soviet reader, engaged in mighty battle against a racist monster, these recollections are gratifying; to an American the memory of Aldridge's distinction should equally be a matter of pride. Perhaps the most striking symbol for our time is in the friendship between Aldridge and Taras Shevchenko. I recall reading at the beginning of the war that when the Nazis entered the Ukrainian town of Kanev, their first act was to desecrate Schevchenko's tomb and to destroy his memorial. For generations the Ukrainian people have responded to the poet's passionate songs of freedom; they have found no greater voice. The fighting in the Ukraine today has been spurred on by the memory of Shevchenko. For he was of the people. He was of serf origin, just as Aldridge was the representative of an enslaved people. When they met they were immediately united by a common love of art and a common hatred for tyranny. They discussed, we are told, "the friendship of peoples and the immense importance of national poetry for a fraternal intercourse of nations."

I have already alluded to Shevchenko's portrait of his Negro friend. According to a contemporary, the portrait was interrupted many times. "May I sing?" Aldridge would ask unexpectedly. And then: "he would break out into a plaintive Negro melody. Little by little, it changed to a more lively tune, and a few minutes later Aldridge would be dancing a most violent jig up and down the studio. And then he would perform entire comical scenes taken from life." But the portrait did get done, and the Soviet audiences which revere Paul Robeson continue to pay homage to his great forerunner when they visit his likeness at the Tretyakov Gallery.

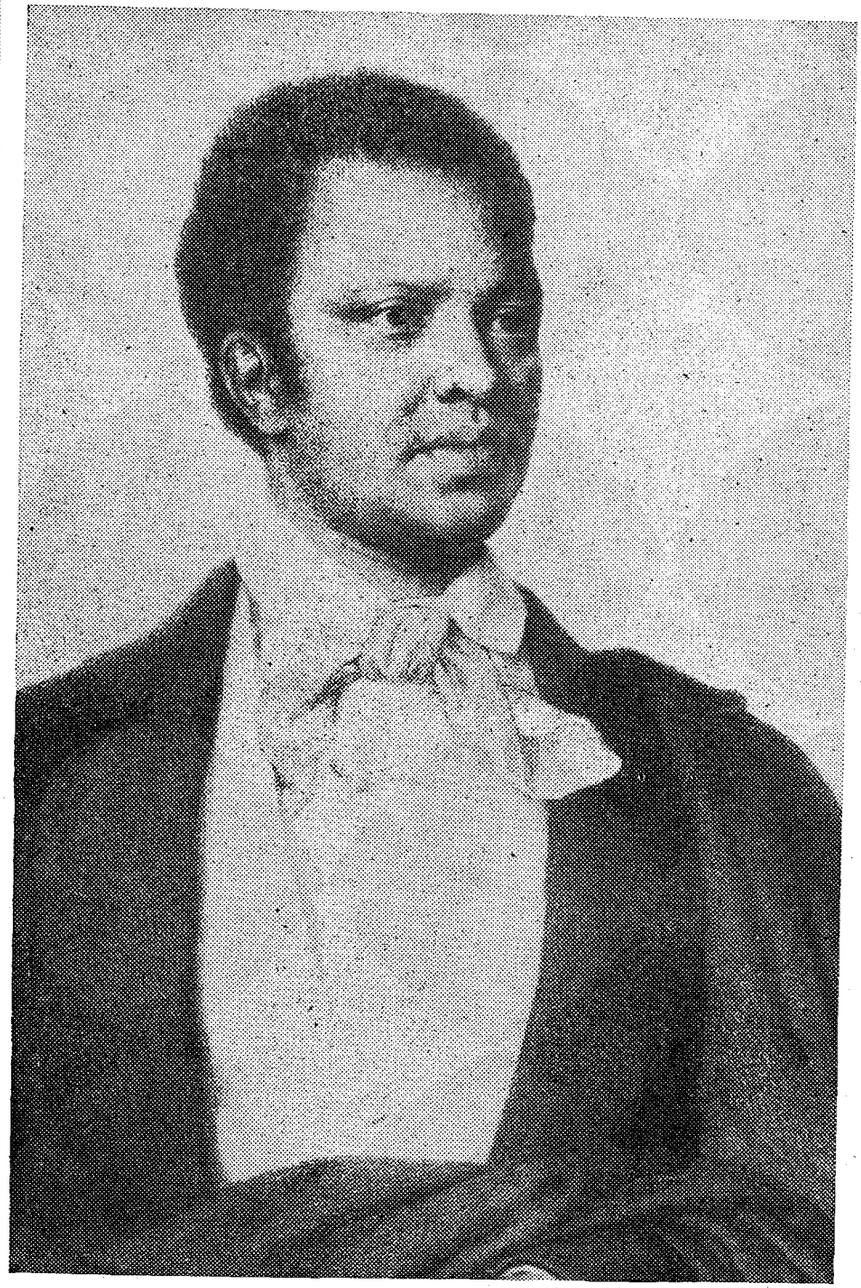
THE contemporary accounts stress the great dignity of Aldridge's conception of Othello. It is amusing to read Gautier's confession that he expected a stormy, violent manner, "a little savage perhaps."



Courtesy New York Public Library

Ira Aldridge as Othello

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Courtesy New York Public Library

Ira Aldridge in another pose

This has of course been a conventional attitude toward Othello, who, in contrast to Shakespeare's conception, has been treated as a ferocious tiger, racially closer to the subhuman, and so forth. But Gautier found that the tragedian had a majestic style and that he "roared with decorum." This wrote Gautier, is doubtless due to Aldridge's wishing to appear "as civilized as a white man."

The real reason would appear not to be emulation of whites—indeed the white Othellos had been the ferocious tigers—but a more sensitive understanding of Shakespeare's clear intention. While it is not true that Aldridge's interpretation was entirely new, it is a fact that he helped fight the racially blinded approach to Othello. His face, says one reviewer, was pensive and full of mellow sadness: "He was quite imbued with a feeling of self-respect. When Brabantio's servants rush at him sword in hand, he stops them with noble dignity, and with the same dignity does he plead his cause before the Senate." Another critic makes this note on Othello-Aldridge: "Now he rages and storms, and now he cries and sobs like a sorrowing child, and then again he breaks down entirely in body and soul. . . . There is not even a trace of the furious Othello in Aldridge as in the fifth act he enters Desdemona's bed-chamber with the words: 'It is the cause. . . .' His face is settled in immutable firmness and yet softened by a deadly anguish. . . . Tenderest love and racking doubt, hate and anger and despairing sorrow—his face expressed them all at the same instant."

A leading Shakespearean student in the Soviet Union, M. Morozov, has written: "The spiritual and humane character of Aldridge's art is especially near and comprehensible to us in these days of our struggle with an enemy attempting to enslave the world, an enemy striving for that kingdom of darkness against which Ira Aldridge, the great Negro tragedian, had fought, with his magnificent art for a sword." How beautifully these words apply as well to Paul Robeson, who inherits the art of Ira Aldridge and carries it to new heights of significance in an America that slowly, belatedly, and only with struggle begins to recognize and claim its own genius. In Harlem, at the Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature, there is a priceless bust of Ira Aldridge by the Italian sculptor Pietro Calvi, who saw the actor play Othello in Vienna. In a theater further downtown that intent figure, noble, passionate, eloquent, has come to life. There are no gaps in history. The procession is that of a whole people, and it is unconquerable.

The Negro people remember their great sons with reverence. In 1932 a new Shakespeare memorial was dedicated at Stratford-on-Avon under dramatic circumstances. Representatives of seventy nationalities gathered to pay homage, each group contributing some evidence of the esteem in which Shakespeare is held by the peoples of the world. A commission headed by the late James Weldon Johnson brought a gift from the Negroes of the United States. The Ira Aldridge Memorial Chair at Stratford-on-Avon is enduring testimony of the gratitude that *all* of us rightfully owe.

SAMUEL SILLEN.

(Next week Mr. Sillen will review the Theater Guild production of "Othello" with Paul Robeson playing the lead.)

British Labor at War

BRITISH WORKERS IN THE WAR, *by Jurgen Kuczynski and Margot Heinemann. International Publishers. 20¢.*

THE British Information Services in this country have done a pretty good job of informing the American public about conditions in Britain during the war. They have published useful and impartial material about British labor and have distributed a special monthly bulletin on this subject which has been sent directly to our labor-management production committees by the War Production Drive section of the War Production Board. It remained, however, for the enterprising Labor Research Association to sum up in one compact sixty-four-page booklet all the vital information about British workers and their part in the war.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Such a pamphlet is of particular value now. And no better choice of authors could have been made for such a job of exposition: Jurgen Kuczynski, the world famous expert on labor conditions and former statistician of the American Federation of Labor; and Margot Heinemann, editor of *Labour Research*, monthly publication of the Labor Research Department of London, an organization serving hundreds of British labor organizations.

The booklet tells what the British workers have done to meet wartime problems of manpower mobilization, economic stabilization, production, protection of labor, regulation of hours and improvement of industrial relations. It gives, for example, specific details on the establishment of the joint production committees which work with management to save materials, increase efficiency and get out weapons of war as speedily as possible. These committees, though originally opposed by some employer groups—as in this country—had been set up by the early part of this year in about 2,000 metal trades plants employing approximately two million workers and about 600 smaller factories.

To maintain British labor's standard of living has been difficult, but the policy of extensive rationing, combined with government subsidies, has helped to control living costs. The nominal earnings of workers have risen mainly as the result of longer hours and bonus payments. Nevertheless, a considerable part of the working class still does not make enough to maintain a rock-bottom minimum efficiency standard of living. To help lower living costs the government has instituted a drive for factory canteens and some fifty-one million meals are now being served weekly in such eating places. (American unions are beginning to move in this direction, pressing for the establishment of similar cafeterias to help build the physical stamina of the worker and increase his efficiency.)

The trade union membership in Britain has advanced about thirty percent since the war began. Like the labor movement in America, the British unions are facing one of their biggest problems in the organization of new women workers. So far only about twenty-five percent of the women industrial workers in Britain belong to unions.

Questions of international labor unity are also discussed in this booklet, which shows the value of the relations already established between the Soviet and the British movements. It is clear from the discussion that the American workers, AFL as well as CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods, must be drawn into such an all-United Nations trade union center if the truly anti-fascist aims of the war are to be won. This pamphlet is a strong contribution to the development of such inter-allied labor unity.

PAUL ROSAS.

HERE'S YOUR CHANCE!

A great book about a great American Negro

George Washington Carver

A BIOGRAPHY

by RACKHAM HOLT

Carver's life shows that given equal opportunity, all people of every race are equal! The story of this man who rose from slavery to world-wide acclaim is a book everyone should own.

YOU CAN BECOME A MEMBER . . .

The Biography of one of America's greatest scientists whose very genius proves that Hitler's story of Racial Supremacy is a lie!

Book Find Club makes this $3.50 book available to its members at the membership price of $1.35.

No membership fees . . . members are asked to accept at least four of twelve selections a year. Each month a "Book Find" is sent to you. Look it over. Then just keep it and send in your $1.35, or, if you wish, return it.

BOOK FIND CLUB,
Dept. NM

Gentlemen:
Please enroll me as a member of Book Find Club. You will mail me the Book Find selection each month for which I will pay the special membership price of $1.35, if I keep it. If not, I will return the book in 5 days. I agree to purchase a minimum of 4 books a year.

Please send me "George Washington Carver" as my first selection for which I enclose $1.35.

Name .....
Address ..... Zone No. .....
City ..... State .....

CONGRESS OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP

10th Anniversary of American-Soviet Relations

★ **MONDAY, NOVEMBER 8th, 7:30 P.M.**
★ **MADISON SQUARE GARDEN**
★ **ANDRE A. GROMYKO, Ambassador from USSR**
★ **HAROLD L. ICKES, Sec'y of the Interior**
★ **CLAUDE PEPPER, U. S. Senator — and Others**
★ ***RESERVED SEATS*** **55c, 83c, $1.10, $1.65, $2.20**

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship
232 MADISON AVE., NEW YORK • TEL.: MU. 3-2059

In a Forthcoming Issue of NEW MASSES

"WHY I JOINED THE COMMUNIST PARTY" *by Doxey Wilkerson*
Former Associate Professor of Education at Howard University

CHURCHILL ANSWERS CHURCHILL *by Richard O. Boyer*

FINLAND WITH THE MASK OFF *by Otto Kuusinen*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Capitol Shoppe

25 DIVISION STREET, N.Y.C.

EXCLUSIVE COATS
SUITS AND FURS

Special discount to customers who bring this ad. CA 9-9066

Unique and Original

WOODCUT BOOKPLATES

Greeting Cards, etc.

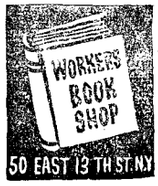
Printed directly from the wood block. Designed and cut to order by well known New Masses Artist.

State individual characteristics or subjects for design.

$10.00 PER BOOKPLATE BLOCK

Send Half with order. Refund if proof is not satisfactory.

Stanley De Graff
Grand Rapids 7, Mich.
1257 Griggs St., S. E.



THE PROBLEM OF INDIA

by R. PALME DUTT

The long awaited book by Britain's distinguished Marxist, author of "Britain in the World Front," "World Politics."

$1.50

50 East 13th St., N. Y. C.

EVERY MINUTE... A JOYFUL MEMORY

On shore of sand lake. Modern. Steam heat. Boating, tennis, handball, softball. Delicious food. Open all year. Reasonable rates. Write for booklet. Thom. M. Smith, or tel. N. Y. Office, LO. 5-3716.

LAKE REST HOTEL
SHANDELEE, LIVINGSTON MANOR, N.Y.
Rates upon Request

FOR VACATION FUN AND REST

55 Miles from New York a vacation "heaven," breath-takingly beautiful countryside—delicious food—restful indoor activities—invigorating enjoyable outdoor sports: Tennis—swimming—ping pong—volley ball—bowling—outdoor dancing—bicycling—(horseback riding and golf nearby). You're welcome at any time and for any time. Write for booklet.

PLUM POINT
"YEAR-ROUND VACATION RESORT"
New Windsor, N.Y. Newburgh 4270

MAMANASCO LAKE LODGE

RIDGEFIELD, CONN. Phone 820

To give ourselves and our loyal and efficient staff a much needed vacation we shall close for business during the period October 18—November 24. MAKE YOUR RESERVATIONS NOW FOR THANKSGIVING WEEKEND. FOR INFORMATION AND RESERVATIONS CALL OR WRITE OUR NEW YORK OFFICE, 1420 GRAND CONCOURSE. PHONE JE-ROME 8-7222

Rural Georgia

TENANTS OF THE ALMIGHTY, *by Arthur F. Raper. Macmillan. $3.50.*

ARTHUR RAPER is one of the farm experts—all too few—who see that changes in technique and production trends and the drift of population reflect toil and struggle and every shade of human experience. His intensive study of rural life in one Georgia county conveys in simple and direct prose the epic story of successive generations of Indians, white settlers, Negro slaves, sharecroppers and poor "independent" farmers. The land and the people are living actors in the long drama which is only beginning to unfold.

From Louisiana Dunn, a Negro writer of verse in the county, Mr. Raper takes the title of his book:

We are tenants of the Almighty
Entrusted with a portion of His earth
To dress and keep
And pass on to the next generation
When evening comes and we must
fall asleep.

The book opens with a rich pictorial document, reminiscent in beauty and clarity of the unforgettable film *The River*. By showing us the county and its people at home and in the fields, at school and in meetings, it evokes a mood of deep concern. And, amazingly, the author is able to maintain this, so that the detailed factual material has, throughout, a quality of excitement and suspense.

This is a good book for the present moment. It shows the tremendous importance of a consistent and constructive government program for aiding small farmers. They need it for their own human welfare. And the rest of us need it because we must look to the small farmers for greatly increased food production.

Mr. Raper's story stops short of any production programs for 1944, but it leaves a deep impression of the simple, practical ways in which small farm output can be increased. Every month that passes makes more urgent the constructive planning, American and international, required for meeting the needs of our own people, our fighting forces, our Allies, and the hungry millions to be released from Axis rule.

From the later chapters of this book we get the feel of the quiet and unsung work of the Farm Security Administration in this one Georgia county. Mr. Raper points no morals. His book is something much bigger than a campaign document. But through it we sense the deep seriousness of reactionary efforts in Congress and out of it, to destroy that agency of progress.

From another angle, also, this book makes a signal contribution to this critical moment in our history. For it brings a fresh approach to the question of Negro-white relationships in the rural South. Mr.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

50c a line. Payable in advance. Min. charge $1.50
Approx. 7 words to a line. Deadline Fri., 4 p.m.

MISS GOODMAN'S DRESS SHOP

SHOPPING FOR CLOTHES, (Dresses, Coats and Suits) at Miss Goodman's is almost a pleasure, even in these hectic times.
Her clothes are restrained in style and of beautiful quality.—362 Lexington Ave., near 41st St. MU. 5-0670.

FURS

SKILLED FUR CRAFTSMAN with factory in wholesale district offers you reasonable rates on remodeling, repairing, cleaning, glazing or blending. Made to order and ready-to-wear furs available. PLEASE ASK FOR MR. ARMAND OR ARMAND ET SOEUR, 146 West 30 St., N. Y. C. CH. 4-1424.

WANTED

RADIO-COMBINATION (Automatic). Must be AC-DC. Table or floor model. Reasonable price. Cash. Box 1829, New Masses.

HOME TO SHARE

Working mother with boy 8, will share lovely private house, near school, country surroundings, garage, with parent and child similar age. Ideal for man liking to putter around house and garden. Call HA. 4-8852.

STUDIO FOR RENT

Studio room with kitchen privileges in Chelsea district. Convenient transportation. Telephone. Reasonable. Phone CH-2-2777, evenings.

GYMNASIUM

Get in shape. Reduce—build up—relax. Trial visit $2.00 includes Swedish massage, handball, vapor baths, individual exercises, posture correction, etc. Men, women, separate days. Open roof gym. GOODWIN'S GYM, 1457 Broadway at 42 St. WIsconsin 7-8250.

INSURANCE

PAUL CROSBIE—Insurance of every kind—whatever your needs—FREQUENT SAVINGS. 80 West 40th St., New York City. Tel. PEnnsylvania 6-6788.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933

Of NEW MASSES, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1943.

State of New York ss.
County of New York

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Herbert Goldfrank, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of the NEW MASSES and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, New Masses, Inc., 104 East 9th St., N. Y. C.; Editor, Joseph North, 104 East 9th St., N. Y. C.; Managing Editor, Barbara Giles, 104 East 9th St., N. Y. C.; Business Manager, Herbert Goldfrank, 104 East 9th St., N. Y. C.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) New Masses, Inc., a membership corporation.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are (if there are none, so state). None—a membership corporation, editorial board are: Joseph North, Barbara Giles, A. B. Magil, Richard Bransten, Ruth McKenney, H. S. Vincour, Herbert Goldfrank.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

HERBERT GOLDFRANK,

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 16th day of September, 1943.

HARRY FORMAN.

[SEAL.] (My commission expires March 9, 1945.)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Raper shows concretely how the small white farmers, borne down by hopeless poverty and hardly more educated than their often illiterate Negro neighbors, had bolstered their own self-respect by clinging to the fable of racial superiority. The New Deal brought them a new sense of hope and achievement on the land. It seriously attacked their farming problems. Small money payments, seed fertilizers, chickens, and cows, and even building materials were made available on equal terms to hard-working small farmers whether colored or white.

While making no frontal attack on race prejudice, the New Deal stimulated a new kind of common effort. It opened the way for all small farmers, Negro and white, to regard each other simply as fellow Americans, working together to restore the goodness of the earth and to increase its yield.

ANNA ROCHESTER.

Brief Review

UNSER KAMPF GEGEN HITLER (OUR FIGHT AGAINST HITLER), *published by "Freies Deutschland," Mexico City.*

THE noisy press commentaries about the Free German Committee in Moscow created among many the impression that the Free German movement was just another of the Kremlin's inventions. In the meantime another Free German Committee has been founded in London with a base extending from conservative Catholics to Communists. But a year before these two committees were established there was in existence a Free German group in this hemisphere whose principles are in agreement with those of the London and Moscow committees. Now the proceedings of its first congress have just been issued in a handsome volume.

This book is more than just a collection of minutes. It shows the way to the reorganization and reeducation of Germany after Hitlerism is exterminated. The book also proves that there are other Germans besides the Nazis and that these Germans want to fight in the ranks of the United Nations. Paul Merker, a former member of the Reichstag, discusses in brilliant fashion the policies followed by the Free Germans in Mexico. Alexander Abusch talks about the tasks of the Free German press. Paul Mayer, a well known poet, surveys the publishing activities of the Free German writers. This is in itself a remarkable story. With the most meager resources these writers founded their own publishing house which has been issuing the work of German writers in exile. K. B. Wolter reports on the social and cultural activities of the anti-Hitler Germans. And there are also included the opening and closing addresses of the distinguished writer, Ludwig Renn. Messages and greetings to the congress are appended.

2nd week

ARTKINO PRESENTS

A SOVIET CINEMA MASTERPIECE

They know their crimes—They see the handwriting on the wall—They fear the day when . . .

'WE WILL COME BACK'

Following the sensational success of "The City That tSopped Hitler," the VICTORIA THEATRE is proud to present this powerful new drama of Russia's heroic guerrilla fighters.

VICTORIA Theatre 46th St. and Broadway

Continues from 10 A.M.
Midnight Show Every Night

3RD BIG WEEK

Artkino Presents a New Russian Film

Lad From Our Town

The beautiful and tender love story of a Russian boy and girl whose love endures through the turmoil of our times.

Based on a play by KONSTANTIN SIMONOV, author of "The Russian People"

Cont. from 9 A.M.—Midnight Show every Sat.

Stanley Thea. 7th Ave., bet. 41-42 Sts Tel WIsconsin 7-9686

"SEEDS OF FREEDOM"

with HENRY HULL and ALINE MacMAHON
plus the LAST important FILM from pre-war France
"FIRE IN THE STRAW" (Le Fen De Paille)

Benefit Block Tickets at Reduced Price. GR. 5-9879

IRVING PLACE IRVING PLACE AT 14th STREET

Russian Skazka

- Superlative Russian and American Cuisine
- Soviet-American Recordings

DINNER, 75c
Late Snaks 35c Beer & Wine
17 Barrow Street
IRT to Christopher Street
Ind. Subway to W. 4th Street

You'll Want To Be There, When

VERA BRODSKY, CBS pianist, plays the first American concert performance of the Second Piano Sonata by Shostakovich!

ALEXANDER KIPNIS, great Russian basso of the Metropolitan Opera, sings Shostakovich's musical interpretation of a Mother Goose Rhyme!

At an

ALL-SOVIET CONCERT

presented by the

AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE

Featuring Metropolitan Opera stars and leading instrumentalists including

Doris Doree—Donald Dame

Lt. Emanuel Vardi, U.S.N.
Violist

CARNEGIE HALL
Tickets: 55c—$3.30

Sunday Evening, October 24th
8:30 P.M.

On sale at all bookstores and at The American Russian Institute, 56 W. 45th St.

NEW MUSIC BY

SHOSTAKOVICH ! KABALEVSKY ! BLANTER !

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TWO FILMS OF WAR

"We Will Come Back" shows the Russian guerrillas, "Hostages," the Czech underground. . . . And an OWI reel on the life and death of the carrier "Lexington."

"WE WILL COME BACK," now playing at the Victoria Theater in New York, was made in Alma-Ata, Kazakstan. It is apparent from the film, a gem of a production, that the hastily moved studios of Moscow and Leningrad lost little time in hitting their true stride. What the workers of heavy industry accomplished, miraculously transporting even entire factory towns to the Urals, has evidently been matched by the film workers of the Soviet Union.

Their true stride! Matchless performances—watch especially for Mikhail Zharov's Gavrila Rusov—the full ringing accents of the people's defiance to the German invader, splendid battle scenes, and the special poetry that results from the union of traditional folk humor with socialist thought.

As the film opens we see the town of "K" in flames. One can't breathe for the smoke nor hear over the crash of shells. Wherever you look the citizens of "K" are already on the bitter path to the interior. The Nazis are close at hand. At the district center, party leader Stepan Kochet is ordering last minute demolitions. The water works go, the railroad, the warehouse. But Rotman, superintendent of the power station, cannot bring himself to destroy something he's lived with so long and seen built with so much sacrifice. "Would you want to light the way to the Germans?" he's asked. But he can't bring himself around to it and finally Kochet has to do the job himself. The town is occupied, but Kochet and his followers, who form themselves into a guerrilla unit, permit the Germans no peace of mind. The day comes when the town of "K" returns to Soviet power and the guerrillas come back over the bodies of their slain enemies.

Two sequences in the film, the demolition scene and the occupation of the town which culminates in the famed guerrilla oath, take their place among the finest achievements of Russian film. For these alone, *We Will Come Back* would be memorable. And the film has so much more to offer. Above all, it is a first-rate object lesson to audiences all over the world of how a unified nation does battle against the fascists.

On the program at the Victoria you will also find what is easily OWI Film Division's finest work—a one-reeler called *The Day of Battle* which relates the life and death of the carrier *Lexington*. The picture was prepared by OWI before the film division was driven out of existence by the Tabors, Ham Fishes, et al. You might do worse than acquaint Elmer Davis with your approval of the film and your desire that the division be reopened.

LIKE Fritz Lang's *Hangmen Also Die*, the film *Hostages* (directed for Paramount by Frank Tuttle), is a highly charged melodrama that draws its lightnings and alarms from the resistance of the Czech underground to the Nazi seizure. It is hardly risk to assume that similar films are to follow—that a "cycle," dreaded phenomenon, is in the making. But in this case, a "cycle" that no one in his right mind could decry. The diggings are rich and the lode cannot be exhausted.

Hostages is a solid job. The film moves without let-up from its very first frame. Scene is Prague, 1943. A small beer hall, the Moldavia. Among those at the Moldavia is a drunken Nazi lieutenant who rather unthinkingly commits suicide. It seems he's disappointed in *Der Fuehrer* who has sent the former's fiancee to a breeding camp to "up" the population figures. Although the local Gestapo is well aware that death was self-inflicted, it rounds up twenty-six hostages for purposes of its own. The film's major tensions then derive from the efforts of the underground to release one of the hostages, an important mass leader whose liberty is essential to their work.

The performers have their eyes on the ball throughout, particularly Oscar Homolka, the collaborationist, and William Bendix, the underground leader. Frank Tuttle delivers as usual with a punch in each fist and effective kicks to mid-section, though at times the physical violences of the film come so thick and fast that they tend to cancel one another out. Twists abound and action is properly sensational.

A scene from "We Will Come Back."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And most important, the basic content of the film is anti-appeasement, anti-fascist.

Yet, in spite of the foregoing, this reviewer must confess to a degree of impatience with *Hostages*. Not with the film proper, but with its genre. We are simply oppressed by the limitations of *melodrama* itself. Melodrama, at best, is a contrived thing. It has its own logic and its own life, but hardly ever does it encompass the fuller, infinitely more complicated life of the world outside of it, even though there is a correspondence between the two. Perhaps we sound carping. *Hostages* is good stuff.

Nevertheless we know that the underground movement lends itself to art forms other than melodrama. This reviewer thirsts for a sample in films.

★

WHEN a movie like Warner Brothers' *Thank Your Lucky Stars* finds it necessary to call on some five authors to get it off the cutting-room floor, that's warning enough. Obviously no one scribe was willing to assume sole responsibility for the results. We didn't have enough patience to sit this one out. There were two or three laughs, but do you call that percentage?

We would like to think that Warners deliberately made the film as a horrible example to its escapist critics of how bad the company could be if it tried. As if Warners were saying, "there but for the grace of God goes Warner Brothers." Or is that too complicated?

Mind you, we are not saying that Warners hasn't earned the right to unbend now and then, but there are ways of doing it other than presenting Bette Davis in a dubious ditty to the effect that the war has copped off desirable bedfellows and second best must serve. Or a thoroughly revolting "Harlem" opus, "Ice-cold Kate," that manages in a mercifully brief span to sound the complete chauvinist gamut.

★

TO JUDGE by the tangled throngs at the box-office of Radio City Music Hall, this department is not going to get within screening distance of *Lassie Come Home*, for a long time to come. (Film is based on the late Eric Knight's animal story, directed by Fred M. Wilcox for MGM.) Let's therefore fall back on *Variety Mag.*, dependable as always: "LASSIE NO DOG AT $110,000, BIG!"

DANIEL PRENTISS.

Obsolete Love

FOR years Frederick Lonsdale, the English playwright, has been making hay with the peccadillos of the leisure class of his country. The result of his labors has been a series of plays which the critics of the twenties and thirties affectionately regarded as comedies of manners. Mr. Lonsdale even achieved a slight reputation as a social historian and critic. But if his latest play—*Another Love Story*—or any of his other plays—makes any useful commentary, then so do the Bobbsey Twins.

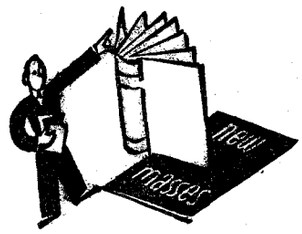
The critics regarded his newest opus as an unfortunate accident, an inferior article not up to the usual Lonsdale standard. But I agree with Burton Rascoe (who threshed about with joy over the play) on one point at least—that *Another Love Story* is like every other Lonsdale play. *The Last of Mrs. Cheyney* may be less dull, or the *Highroad* may have greater purpose, but that is where the distinctions end. The truth is, the playwright loves the snob characters of the Algie, Bertie, Reggie and Willie type, and his attitude, dramatically, is always uniform. *Aren't We All*, the first play of his that I knew anything about, was produced in New York some twenty years ago. If you will take the trouble to read it, you will discover, except for superficial differences in plot, that its characters and their utterances are almost interchangeable with those of *Another Love Story*—as are the author's underlying ideas. Love is divine, sex is delightful, all men are polygamous, and no women are ever virtuous; whoever says differently is a prig, and Mr. Lonsdale has a binful of trite generalizations to prove it.

HIS characters, of course, invariably belong to the idle rich. The only member of any given cast who has visible means of support, is the butler. He is tolerated because (aside from his usefulness) he is usually a philosophical fellow who shares his master's well-bred contempt for the strange animals of the lower brackets. Once in a while, the son of a farmer (agriculture is so much more genteel than trade or industry) breaks into the charmed circle, as does the chief lover of *Another Love Story*, but once he exhibits the proper scorn for an honest day's work he is accepted with open arms.

The fact that Mr. Lonsdale's particular kind of leisure class such as the play is based upon went out with the war, seems to deter the author not at all. But the dated quality of the play is even more obvious than that. Twice the ancient leer about bedrooms and etchings is tossed out as an example of prime humor. That, I believe, ought to give you an idea of what went on all evening.

It is really a pity that a fine cast headed by Roland Young, Margaret Lindsay (first time on the stage) and Arthur Margetson were wasted on such seedy stuff. For all their professional astuteness, they were completely lost in a production that can only be described as completely out of this world.

JOSEPH FOSTER.



one year of NEW MASSES

(Reduction made from subscription rate (Regularly $5 a year), not book list price.)

plus

UNDER COVER
BY JOHN ROY CARLSON
List Price $3.50
Combination Offer $7.00

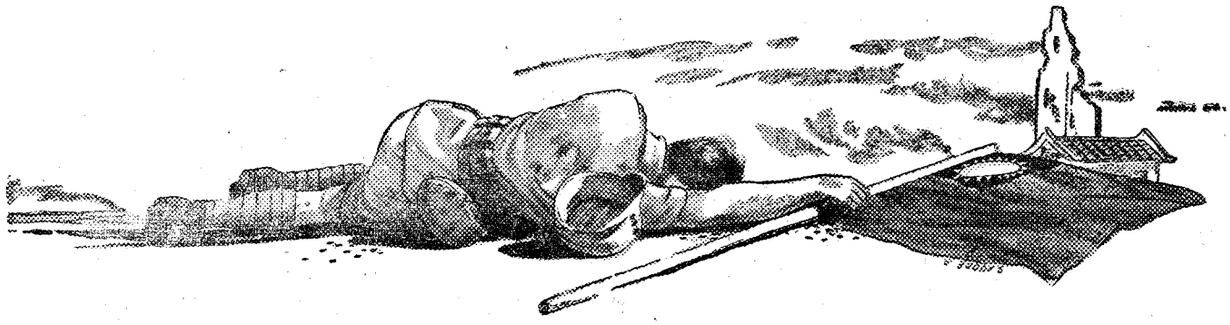
	or	Our Gift Combination Price	You Save
THE PROBLEM OF INDIA by R. PALME DUTT		$6.00	.50
THE FALL OF PARIS by ILYA EHRENBOURG		$7.00	$1.00
GRAND CROSSING by ALEXANDER SAXTON		$6.50	$1.00
WAR POEMS OF THE UNITED NATIONS edited by JOY DAVIDMAN		$7.00	$1.00
HISTORY OF BIGOTRY by GUSTAVUS MEYERS		$7.00	$1.50
BROTHERS UNDER THE SKIN by CAREY McWILLIAMS		$7.00	$1.00
U. S. FOREIGN POLICY by WALTER LIPPMANN		$6.00	$1.00
NEW WORLD A-COMING by ROI OTTLEY		$7.00	$1.00
SOCIALISM AND ETHICS by HOWARD SELSAM		$6.00	$1.00
DEMOCRATIC SPIRIT by BERNARD SMITH		$7.50	$3.00
HARRIET TUBMAN by EARL CONRAD		$7.50	.75
JAKE HOME by RUTH McKENNEY		$7.00	$1.00
THE NIGHT OF THE SUMMER SOLSTICE, edited by Mark Van Doren		$6.50	$1.00
MAXIM LITVINOFF by ARTHUR U. POPE		$7.00	$1.00
INFANT AND CHILD CARE IN THE CULTURE OF TODAY by DRS. ARNOLD GESEL and FRANCES L. ILG		$8.00	$1.00
VICTORY—AND AFTER by EARL BROWDER		$5.00	.50
BATTLE HYMN OF CHINA by AGNES SMEDLEY		$7.00	$.100

NEW MASSES, 104 East 9th St., New York 3, N.Y.
Gentlemen:
I wish to take advantage of your combination offer.
Enclosed find $.....
The book I desire is.....
Please send it to.
Name .....
Address .....
City .....
State .....
The one-year subscrition (or renewal) to NEW MASSES you may send to:
Name .....
Address .....
City .....
State .....
Add $1 for Canadian Postage
10-26-43

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CARNEGIE LIBRARY
OCT 2 1943
OF PITTSBURGH

How Much is Your Thanks Worth?



THANKS...to the Chinese, who never had much, but who at least had the guts to stand up to the Japs for seven long years.

Thanks...to the Norwegians, who lost their country but never surrendered themselves.

Thanks...to the Russians, who gave their lives and homes and burned their factories and fields to turn Hitler's dream of conquest into a nightmare of defeat.

Thanks to the British, who might have given up but didn't...to the Yugoslavs, who still fight in the hills...thanks to *all* the freedom-loving people in the world who gave *us* time to gather our strength.

Make your thanks to all of these really mean something...by giving generously to the National War Fund through the New York Committee.

Seventeen war relief agencies have banded together in this great work to make the thanks of America mean something both abroad and at home and wherever our men fight on land or sea.

For we owe thanks, too, to the young men of America who gave up careers and good jobs to do the job that has to be done...and to those who cheerfully saw their lives turned upside down so that their men could fight and build ships and turn out tanks and planes and guns, all day and all night.

Because the National War Fund is combined with nine of our own local war-related agencies, you are being asked to give only *once*, this year, for *all* twenty-six. So add up all you would have given to each, and then *double the total!* There's no better way to show your gratitude.

Give ONCE for ALL 26

NATIONAL AGENCIES

USO
United Seamen's Service
War Prisoners Aid
Belgian War Relief Society
British War Relief Society
French Relief Fund
Friends of Luxembourg
Greek War Relief Association
Norwegian Relief
Polish War Relief
Queen Wilhelmina Fund
Russian War Relief
United China Relief
United Czechoslovak Relief
United Yugoslav Relief Fund
Refugee Relief Trustees
United States Committee for the Care of European Children

NEW YORK AGENCIES

New York City Defense Recreation Committee
American Women's Voluntary Services
C.D.V.O.-Community Services
New York City Nursing Council for War Service
English-Speaking Union
New York City Women's Council of the Navy League of the United States
Officers Service Committee
Ships' Service Committee
Soldiers and Sailors Club

NEW YORK COMMITTEE

NATIONAL WAR FUND

57 WILLIAM ST., NEW YORK 5, N.Y.

(This space contributed by the editors of New Masses)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED